

Economic outlook

In almost every way imaginable the American economy broke all records, wartime as well as peacetime, in 1947. Employment hit the 60 million mark; average weekly wages surpassed top wartime levels; farm income hit \$30 billion; corporation profits, after taxes, reached a breath-taking \$17 billion; the gross national product—the market value of all goods and services produced—exceeded the previous record, which was \$213 billion in 1945, by \$17 billion. Although a good part of these gains, according to the Department of Commerce, was due to higher prices, there occurred in some fields a notable increase in physical production. The only big fly in the ointment was the stock market, which refused to reflect any great confidence in what looked like the biggest boom of all times. Said *Business Week* on December 27: "The stock market will begin 1948 suffering from exactly the same ailment that plagued it at the start of 1947: an acute case of cold feet." This is an interesting phenomenon, not without its disconcerting aspects. Why the "cold feet" as we march into 1948 with production, earnings, employment, dividends at record-breaking levels? Why the hesitancy when even the most conservative prophets see no signs of a let-down before the second half of the year? Can it be that the hard-headed gentlemen in Wall Street do not share the mystical belief of the National Association of Manufacturers in the virtues of an uncontrolled marketplace? Do they perceive in the boom artificial factors that lack permanence? Do they suspect that profits and prices are too high relative to the incomes of the working masses? That millions of people in the lower-income brackets are being forced out of the marketplace? That there is in the country too much profitless prosperity? Whatever be the reason, smart investors are keeping their fingers crossed, waiting for the "correction" they feel in their bones is coming. They suspect that 1948, despite a half-dozen solid indications of continuing prosperity, could be the year when the disorderly postwar boom came a spectacular cropper.

Which plan for Czechoslovakia?

An interesting development with regard to the Marshall plan is taking place in Czechoslovakia. That country, it will be remembered, declined the invitation to attend the meeting of the European countries which were to participate in the plan. It declined not because it wanted to, but because the Kremlin so ordered. But Czechoslovakia has always longingly eyed the promised gains under the Marshall plan and, as those gains shape up more certainly every day, she now openly decries opposition to the plan on the part of her Communists and of the Cominform. Hubert Ripka, Minister of Foreign Trade, strongly desires the Marshall plan's success, and stresses the fact that all nations, even those not

members of the set-up, will benefit from an economic recovery in any part of Europe. This is particularly true of Czechoslovakia, which already had extensive trade with the West—even the trade agreement with Russia concluded on Dec. 11 will account for only sixteen per cent of her total volume. This attitude on the part of Czechoslovakia, though surprisingly out of tune with Soviet-dominated propaganda, is but elementary common sense and but re-emphasizes what the Marshall plan had envisioned from the start—the recovery of Europe, not merely of part of Europe. Whether high Czech officials will be allowed to continue talking this way or not, their attitude is highly indicative of a great deal of thinking that must be going on even farther behind the Iron Curtain. Russia's satellites are perhaps beginning to see dimly but more obviously the handwriting on the wall: Europe will be rebuilt and rebuilt through the Marshall plan. No "Molotov plan" can do that job, nor even the smaller job of rebuilding the stooge nations. The Czechs are seeing that and saying so; when the others see it they may say so, too. If enough countries say it, Russia may yet be reduced to a minority of one blocking the road to prosperity and peace.

Housing prospects

Latest industry estimates are that houses completed during 1948 will be 900,000, a record high comparable to the best results achieved in the boom years of the mid-twenties. Most materials essential for building are less scarce than a year ago, so that some improvement in construction output is possible. The crisis, however, is far from over, Labor still remains short, with an increased but still inadequate number of craftsmen in training. Biggest obstacle of all, from an administrative point of view, has been the slowness with which the real-estate men have come to admit they cannot build houses for the lowest income brackets at present construction costs. For the first year after the war they fought any extended program of public housing which would have provided some relief for the less affluent renters. They adhered to the theory, long exploded, that the problem can be solved by building houses for the better off and then letting the cast-offs filter down the income ladder. This did not work. For one thing, the volume of housing needed is too great, due to increased population; and then the condition of many older houses is so bad that rehabilitation is out of the question. Meanwhile the Congressional Committee on Housing, set up at the close of the last regular session of Congress, has unearthed some interesting facts. One is that mayors of a large number of towns and cities see no other solution than public housing for the lowest income groups under present circumstances. Governors of States, polled by the Congressional Committee, have strong feelings that slum clearance is badly needed but is

not being accomplished under existing building procedures. Most significant of all is the growing willingness on the part of individuals to concede that private enterprise cannot hope to do the job unaided. We wish that it could. Public housing at best, especially as we have known it, has been a makeshift. But it is at least a solution to an urgent problem, the providing of living quarters for those several million families who cannot afford the current rents for anything better than slum dwellings. The fact that, were all needs being met, 1,250,000 homes a year would have to be produced, is sobering even in the face of a record housing output.

Union-shop elections

In persuading the 80th Congress to erect various obstacles to the union shop, including approval by a majority of the employees involved, the anti-labor propagandists appear to have sold some ill-informed lawmakers a bill of goods. According to a report of the National Labor Relations Board, 112 elections on the union-shop issue were conducted during November and in every single case, with the majorities generally exceeding ninety per cent, the workers voted for a union shop. In the biggest union-shop election held so far, 18,219 employees of the American Woolen Company went to the polls in December and 17,130 favored the union shop. These results make charges of union coercion of free-born American workers look ridiculous. A somewhat less amusing aspect of this provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, at least to taxpayers, is the cost involved to the Government. It has been conservatively estimated, on the basis of the average cost per ballot of NLRB elections in recent years, that the Board must spend about forty-five cents for each ballot cast in a union-shop election. Since in the course of 1948 about nine million workers will be asked in 50,000 elections whether they want a union shop, the cost to the taxpayers will be in excess of \$4 million. The bill will really be higher than this, since the Board's present facilities are inadequate for the task and many new employees will have to be hired. Ironically, the people in Congress who showed most enthusiasm for this union-baiting provision of the Taft-Hartley Act are the same gentlemen who constantly criticize Federal spending and strive, with more energy than intelligence, to reduce it. If future union-shop elections follow the November pattern, the Republican-dominated 80th Congress will have to answer some embarrassing questions. To tax-conscious voters, spending \$4 million to prove the obvious looks like boondoggling of the worst kind.

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T-H teeth begin to bite

In various ways organized labor felt during the past two weeks the sharp teeth in the Taft-Hartley Act. In Utica, New York, a Federal judge enjoined the AFL Teamsters from forcing an employer to pay for services not performed, a practice otherwise known as feather-bedding. The union had demanded from the Conway Express Company of Pittsfield, Mass., wages for a union driver in the case of a truck driven by a non-union driver from Connecticut to Ohio. A hearing examiner of the National Labor Relations Board found the AFL Carpenters guilty of violating the secondary-boycott clause of the T-H Act by forcing its members to stop working on a house, near Chattanooga, Tenn., with non-union employees of a decorating firm which the Carpenters had branded as unfair to organized labor. In a decision that gave small comfort to employers, the NLRB ruled, by a 3-2 vote, that time-study men come under the heading of "professional employees" and, as a consequence, have the right to join a union. The Board denied the contention of the Worthington Pump Company that its time-study men are a part of management, ordered the Company to bargain with them. James J. Reynolds, who voted with the majority, announced that he would maintain his position only so long as the union of time-study men remained independent of all rank-and-file unions. Apparently, in Mr. Reynolds' mind, the kind of union a man joins has a determining effect on his status in the company.

China faces a hard year

The year 1948 will undoubtedly bring additional hardships and privations to the great majority of the Chinese people. Such was the keynote of the annual New Year's Eve report to the nation by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese President stressed the necessity of redoubling efforts to suppress the Communists, presently the chief worry of China as a nation. Although no mention was made of Soviet Russia, it was definitely clear what the General had in mind when he referred to the "communist menace from without." He said that unless the Red tide is checked soon, a future full of unpredictable suffering awaits the Chinese people. Meanwhile, China has ended a long year of internal struggle, during which the Government consistently lost ground to the Communists. This fact, of course, does not augur well for government ability to do better in the new year. In 1947 the civil conflict grew to such magnitude that a decisive victory of one side or the other now seems the only way out. Which side will win depends on the extent of American aid, without which the Nanking Government has diminishing chances of surviving another year. Despite the gloomy outlook, a few bright spots offer some hope for improvement. During the past year China underwent the process of converting itself from an archaic, feudal state into a modern republic. A new democratic Constitution, adopted a year ago and put into effect on Christmas Day, 1947, provided for general elections, the first in China's history. The National Assembly, elected last November, now faces the difficult task of shaping the nation's future. Unfortunately, the

extensive illiteracy, economic misery and general political inexperience of the Chinese people are so many obstacles in the road. The most hopeful prospect for the new year is the likelihood of American assistance. Already during the year just past foreign help made possible improved food production, industrial effort and transportation. Whatever comes in 1948, the Chinese must realize that a great deal has to be done by themselves.

Advertising Catholic truth

The rumor that priests have horns is pretty well dispelled by this time. Fashions in popular misinformation on Catholicism change while a pathetic, underlying ignorance of the purpose and premises of the Church persists. The ignorance is pathetic because, like all ignorance, it stunts the mind; more seriously, it fosters suspicions of the patriotism of every American who is a Catholic; most important of all, it forestalls access to God's ordinary means of salvation, the Church. So widespread is the ignorance that some generalized mode of enlightenment seems indicated. So at least the problem appears to the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus, which has authorized an advertising campaign in mass-circulation magazines to explain Catholic faith and practice. Twenty-three million readers of the Sunday supplement, *American Weekly*, in twenty large cities, will see the first of six ads the Knights are sponsoring on Jan. 25. Concurrently, the same series will run in the *Pathfinder* magazine, which has an estimated two and a half million readers. The program represents an extension of the public-information service of the Missouri Knights, and concentrates on positive, dogmatic points. Arrestingly captioned "You Hear Strange Things About Catholics!" the ads present a mental challenge, provide a brief explanation and offer to supply (from 4422 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo.) a free pamphlet on the topic. The Knights, whose apostolic imagination in this present venture is to be highly commended, would surely want full credit given to the memory of Karl Rogers of Narberth, Pa., who initiated the work of advertising the Church; they would undoubtedly endorse the slogan printed in the ads of the "Narberth Plan"—"if it's anything Catholic, ask a Catholic"; they would also recommend to their members a readiness to exploit opportunities to explain Catholic belief and practice to non-Catholic neighbors; and, as good Knights, they would insist that the most convincing refutation of error is the example of integral Catholic living.

Toward a federated state in the Indies

First steps have been taken toward the creation of what will probably become the sovereign United States of Indonesia, according to a communiqué issued in Batavia by the Netherlands East Indies Government. The important resolution has already been adopted by delegates from ten territories outside the so-called Republic of Indonesia. Included are East Indonesia, three areas in Dutch Borneo, the Riouw Archipelago, Bangka Island, two territories in Sumatra, Madura and West Java. The

Dutch East Indies embrace a variety of nationalities, such as the Sunda, the Javanese and the Madura. Each has its own language or dialect, and manifests diverse religious tendencies, including all shades of Animism, as well as Hinduism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism. On August 17, 1945 the most advanced group, the Indonesians, proclaimed an independent republic under President Soekarno, and organized a bloody revolt against the Japanese occupation. When the returning Dutch resumed their pre-war colonial policies, the Indonesian Nationalists began to resist them. A good-sized war had developed by the summer of 1946, and this brought about the intervention of the United Nations. On August 25, 1946, the Security Council called upon the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia to cease hostilities. Eventually the Dutch, by the so-called "Linggadjati Agreement," promised to give complete dominion status to the federated Indonesian states within a little over a year. Evidently their present action is the fulfillment of that agreement. The Dutch government communiqué from Batavia stressed the fact that Dr. Louis J. M. Beel, Dutch Premier, had a series of official conferences with Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, Dutch Lieutenant Governor General. "Immediate steps" to form an interim government were urgently recommended. With India, Pakistan and Burma gaining their independence, a federation of the Indies states would go far toward reassuring a politically conscious Orient that the Western nations have accepted the passing of colonialism and recognize the need for self-government in achieving economic and social stability.

Stop, look and listen

There was a lone note of gratification sounded by New York's public officials as they surveyed the results of the Great Snow of '47. Deaths and injuries from traffic accidents were almost non-existent, for the very obvious reason that so was the traffic. We are all prone to take what has come to be called a "philosophical" view of such a situation and conclude that our hideous record of fatalities is inevitable, given the complexities and hurry of modern urban living; and, anyhow, who wants to go back to the safe and sane horse and buggy? The National Safety Council finds nothing particularly philosophical about that kind of thinking. Indeed the Council, which is currently pressing a Green Cross for Safety movement, would term the notion grossly stupid and a symbol of the carelessness that produces preventable accidents, fourth in the cause of deaths and first in the cause of disabilities in the United States. Cities where a strong, continuing, over-all safety program has been maintained for five years have achieved a reduction in the rate of accidents up to forty per cent, the Council points out. The price of contempt of safety is staggering. Over 50 deaths per 100,000 annually in the population of our big cities are preventable. New York, whose accident record betters that of Los Angeles, spends nearly a third of a billion a year, or almost \$150 for each family. And all needlessly! For ninety per cent of all accidents, whether at home, on the job or highway, are preventable, and four-fifths of all

accidents involving children are due to acts of commission or omission by adults. There is no yardstick to calculate the pain, anxiety and suffering that death and disability bring in their wake. Nor any convenient human test to measure the stupidity and irresponsibility and selfishness that caused them.

Amend the Charter

Urging the Young Republican Club of New York to take issue with those "whose primary glance is backward, whose most cherished word is, 'No,'" Harold E. Stassen proposed on January 5 that the United States initiate the calling of a major United Nations convention in 1950 "for the purpose of amending and rewriting the Charter." "Clearly the United Nations needs strengthening," he said. "Definitely it requires a new voting method to end the single-Power veto, new means of developing its own police force." A convention "for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter" can be called, under Article 108, by two-thirds of the General Assembly and seven members of the Security Council. Amendments, however, call for the consent of "all the permanent members of the Security Council" (Article 107); and it is clear that Russian consent to abolition, or even severe modification, of the veto would not be forthcoming. The UN convention was, however, only one part of the program which Mr. Stassen enunciated. He also advocated that the United States should build up its own free economy; push vigorously the Marshall plan to rehabilitate western Europe; maintain a strong military position, especially in the air; refuse to sell Russia such heavy goods and machinery as might be used for warlike purposes; meet communist propaganda with our own to "explain and inspire individual freedom for men everywhere." It is easy, as Mr. Stassen said, to murmur "dreamer" and "visionary"; but he justly asks those who murmur thus to produce an alternative program. Certainly if we are ever to have a showdown with the Soviets on the veto, it is better to have it with the Western nations strong and united.

Truman for training

In his message of Jan. 7 Mr. Truman again asked Congress to enact a bill for universal (military) training. While he admits that this is only one element among many in a well-rounded defense program, UMT in his opinion is the "foundation for them all." That same morning the N. Y. *Times* in its leading editorial stated that "No more important legislative business faces the present session . . . than that of universal military training." Such hyperbole with reference to a Congress whose vital task is the debate on the European Recovery Program and the control of inflation can readily be forgiven the staid newspaper, which has one or two special pets of its own, UMT being one of the chief hobbies. However, there are other people not quite in agreement with either Mr. Truman or the *Times*, notably among farm, labor, educational and church groups. One recent protest from such sources labels the current Towe bill (H.R. 4278) "one of the most dangerous bills before Congress today."

This bill, the protest says, was rushed to the floor of the House "after less than twenty minutes consideration." In the opinion of the signers of this protest, the Towe bill should be sent back to committee for more proper study. In view of the unseemly pressures generated (perhaps illegally) by the Department of the Army and some national organizations on behalf of this bill, recommitment is in order.

A worldwide memento

Papal letters and discourses end habitually with an established formula, extending the "apostolic blessing as a pledge of divine grace," etc. It is striking that the Pope, in his radio message on Christmas Eve just past, *after* using his accustomed terminal formula, ended in complete informality with the following exclamation:

But let it [the blessing] extend especially to those groaning under a heavier weight of distress and pain; the sick, the poor, the unemployed; the homeless and all who are hungry and cold; for those bereft of freedom, family and country through the tragic happenings of a dreadful war, through other men's injustices or through their own past mistakes and faults and who feel the pang of discouragement and anguish all the more keenly at this holy season; to the prisoners of war not yet restored to their dear ones; to the refugees and the displaced; in a special way to those, particularly priests, suffering persecution, prison, exile, threats of torture and of death, simply because of their fidelity to God, to Christ, to the Church and to their duty.

And let all these find refuge in our own prayers.

State of the Union

In his State-of-the-Union message to Congress on January 7, President Truman reiterated those beliefs and goals which are common to all our people, Democrats and Republicans alike. Despite legitimate differences over the best means of realizing our ideals, there can be no quarrel with the President's insistence that belief in the dignity of man, "created in the image of the Father of us all," is the chief source of our strength, as it ought to be the chief inspiration of our policies. There can be no real argument either over the following "five goals for the future":

To secure fully the essential rights of our citizens.

To protect and develop our human resources.

To conserve and use our natural resources so that they can contribute most effectively to the welfare of our people.

To lift the standard of living for all our people by strengthening our economic system and sharing more broadly among our people the goods we produce.

To achieve world peace based on principles of freedom and justice and the equality of all nations.

In some respects the message was frankly political, as many Congressmen were quick to point out. Even while regretting this, we recognize, as do the indignant legislators, that any other course would be alien to our traditions. The temptation to play politics, even with serious issues, is the weakness of every democracy, as its ideals are its power. It would be disastrous if one of the hostages to this weakness should be the Marshall plan.

Washington Front

One of the most encouraging developments in recent weeks has been the growth in European labor circles of a rank-and-file revolt against the use of labor unions as instruments of party politics. Europe has a long-standing tradition of labor-union participation in politics, but in the past this has been largely for the benefit of the socialist parties in various countries.

The immediate occasion for the revolt was, of course, the sudden revelation experienced by all kinds of workers that the communist domination they had undergone was primarily for political purposes, and only secondarily, if at all, for the economic welfare of workers. Already last summer, even among the Socialists, mutterings of complaint were heard in France that the labor unions were really political parties, and demands were made that they return to their proper function: the economic welfare of their members.

The immediate occasion of the revolt in France was the recent attempt of the Communist party to use the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) to wreck the Government over the Marshall plan. Léon Jouhaux, veteran Socialist and former president of the CGT, led several million workers out of the General Confederation, and was expected to find allies among the rapidly grow-

ing Christian syndicates. But whether that means that this sector of French labor will be completely de-politicized remains to be seen. It may be that the Communists will not let them remain entirely apart from politics.

The movement toward a purely economic type of labor union may be expected to grow, however, not only in France but in Italy and Germany as well, if for no other reason than that it may be hard to hold the workers in line once they become conscious that their unions are merely pawns in a game of politics. The real battle in Europe generally is for the workers, who have the mass power when organized. At present it is largely a battle between Communists and Socialists, and its outcome would seem to depend on the measure in which the unions can be returned to their original purpose.

It is an ironical circumstance that at the moment when it looks as if the European unions might grow away from politics, our unions here are getting in more deeply. There has always been a "labor vote" here, of course, but it usually followed the Gompers line of rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor itself; that is, it looked exclusively to labor interests and was independent of party affiliations. The communist influence is changing all that, and the Taft-Hartley Act anti-communist affidavits have only emphasized the trend. Unions are now being asked to take a stand on all sorts of non-union political issues, and a slight amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act could precipitate a serious row.

WILFRID PARSONS

Underscorings

America Press has just published what it considers an important pamphlet, *Equal Rights for Children*, by Rev. Robert C. Hartnett, S.J. Divided into four brief chapters, the pamphlet deals exclusively with the constitutional side of Federal aid to education. The first chapter sets forth evidence to show that the assumption of the opponents of Federal aid to non-governmental schools is false. That assumption is that American democracy is grounded in a secularist view of American society. The second chapter establishes the fact that in its Federal-aid legislation Congress has not considered indirect support of religious institutions an infringement of religious freedom. In the third chapter the decisions handed down by Federal courts are examined, and these decisions are found to have interpreted the Constitution as allowing the continuation of present Federal policies. The final chapter attempts to clear up the confusion existing in the public mind about the purpose and function of parish schools.

► It needs to be kept in mind that the question argued by Father Hartnett involves the policy, not of the several States, but of the Federal Government. The first issue in the argument is one of simple justice. Catholics pay

Federal income and excise taxes, from which any Federal-aid bill would draw the money appropriated for education. It is simply unjust to compel Catholics to pay these taxes and then to exclude them as a group from the public-welfare services provided out of tax revenues. And it is unjust on a large scale. For the Catholic school system today educates three of the perhaps thirty million pupils attending schools in this country. Many people do not realize that the public-school system is not the whole American school system. It is only a part of it. One out of every ten children in school in the United States is in a parish school.

► And this points to the second profound issue in Federal-aid legislation—the issue of whether the secularized public-school system is gradually to achieve a monopoly of education in this country; whether religious training provided in schools which teach everything the public schools teach to produce good American citizens is to be starved out of existence; whether our people want to secularize American culture completely because they do not believe that the Catholic religion harmonizes with our ideals.

► Father Hartnett's argument boils down to the simple proposition: *All American children should have equal rights in education.* The current attempt at Federal-aid legislation in the Taft Bill (S. 472) respects the rights of our 13,000,000 Negroes but discriminates against our 24,000,000 Catholics and their children. A.P.F.

Editorials

Historic session

Even before the President's State of the Union message on January 7, the task before the 80th Congress as it began its second and final session stood forth in clearest outline. It had to come to grips with foreign developments which threatened world peace and the future security of the United States; it had to deal with excessively high prices, the threat of a runaway boom and a possible bust at home. There was general agreement that no American Congress had ever faced such fateful decisions; that the results of its deliberations would be felt far beyond our borders and affect the course of history.

It is obvious that many men in the 80th Congress have little relish for the role events are forcing them to play. They rode into office on a wave of impatience with wartime restrictions and sacrifices, their success at the polls in 1946 being largely the expression of popular longing for normalcy, of popular refusal to accept the responsibilities of world leadership which the war and its bitter aftermath had forced on us. For many of them, especially those who managed to get abroad this summer, the past six months have been an education in the hard facts of modern life. They are, fortunately, more disposed now than they were last spring to accept the implications of the Soviet push for power and to support the realistic bi-partisan foreign policy which has evolved as an answer to it. But they are still hesitant, still resentful over the trick history has played on them—and very doubtful of the reactions of the folks back home.

For this is a presidential year, a year when the game of politics, which never ceases in Washington, reaches its most critical phase, when the rewards for good guesses are the highest in the world, the penalties for bad guesses the worst imaginable. To make matters more difficult still, to add special edge to rivalries already inherent in the situation which tempts even the best of men to subordinate nation to party, a Democratic President looks from the White House at a Republican majority on Capitol Hill. In a way old Tom Paine never imagined, these are times which try men's souls—the souls, that is, of politicians.

On the most critical issue of the day, the European Recovery Program, the chance for a good decision is fairly promising. It is as certain as anything can be in Washington that Congress will vote some kind of assistance to the war-torn countries of Western Europe. Toward this end President Truman greatly contributed last week by agreeing, at Senator Vandenberg's suggestion, not to press for a definite sum of money for the proposed four-year commitment. But it is not so certain that Congress will appropriate sufficient funds to see the plan off to a good start, or that the machinery it approves

to administer the program will be adequate for the job. Too many in Congress still fail to see that, from the viewpoint of world peace and national security, the manner in which the ERP is approved, the unanimity and enthusiasm and determination behind it, are just as important as the Program itself.

There is, alas, much less assurance that Congress will act with energy and intelligence on the pressing domestic problem of the day. As no other Congress in the past two decades, the 80th reflects the mentality and viewpoint, the prejudices and emotions of the business community and the successful commercial farmer; and farmers and businessmen seem quite content to cash in on the current boom and take their chances with the future. They will not stand for even a limited return to rationing and price controls, although these are plainly indicated. Then, too, it is an old political axiom that "the best way to get elected is to cut taxes," and tax cuts, which will likely contribute to inflationary pressures, are almost certain to be approved. We regret that in this matter the President bowed to the political exigencies of an election year.

As AMERICA readers ought to realize, at a time like this there is a duty of citizenship to make one's thoughts known to one's representatives in Washington. There is an even greater duty to ask God's blessing on their delicate and dangerous work.

De Gaulle's plans

The sky was overcast, the night was falling, when General de Gaulle addressed a record audience of France's industrial workers at St. Etienne on January 4. But the weather, said the speaker, corresponded to the grim times through which his country was groping. He left no illusions in his hearers' minds as to the measures which must be taken if the French economy is to be stabilized and the enormous loss of men and material, the havoc wrought by two wars and the sabotage caused by the "separatist" servants of Moscow, are to be repaired. The gospel of personal sacrifice which de Gaulle proclaimed stated in general terms what France's Premier, Robert Schuman, on the following day asked for specifically when he won in the National Assembly by a vote of 315 to 268 on his rigorous tax bill. Yet the Schuman tax proposal, which was made in the teeth of bitter communist opposition, was condemned to a relatively small majority by the opposing votes of the de Gaullists, who joined forces with the Communists on this critical occasion; though on the accompanying loan proposal the Premier enjoyed the de Gaullist support.

In the field of industrial relations, M. de Gaulle insisted that there could be no real recovery unless the principle were adopted of free association, in a common profes-

sional enterprise, of employers and workers alike. Since this is, in essence, none other than the well-known vocational-group idea already set forth in the papal program of *Quadragesimo Anno*, there would be no ground for suspicions of fascism merely on such an account. But if M. de Gaulle is to allay thoroughly any anxiety on this point—which might enter into American discussions of the Marshall plan—he would need to clarify his further proposal to the effect that “French [industrial] activities having been made coherent by association, their representatives could and should be incorporated into the state,” in a “Council of the Republic.”

M. de Gaulle's scornful rejection of “experiments” (Schuman's word) created by a parliamentary regime comes at a moment when the existing regime is supported by a sensational increase in the moderate, non-political trade-union elements which it represents. It is possible that some of this support may be attributed to the very power of the challenge which de Gaulle has already thrown down, and which has been reflected in the de Gaullist victories at the polls. But whatever the explanation, the movement for Moscow-free autonomy in French labor appears to be rapidly growing. Many a corner, however, must still be turned ere we can say whether de Gaulle or the present parliamentary system in politics will be the ultimate choice of French workers, and with them of the French people.

Little Assembly's fate

The Soviet-boycotted “Little Assembly,” which had its unsensational inaugural at Lake Success on January 5, may find criticism in some quarters as another case of “too little and too late.” As UN's answer to the crisis brought on by the failure and stagnation of the Security Council and the rapidly disintegrating international picture, the Interim Committee of the General Assembly, to give it its official title, appears a rather poor thing. The appearance of impotence was heightened by the report that the United States still seeks Soviet participation and is reluctant to raise controversial issues at once.

But the fact that the representatives of the Soviet Union announced from the earliest stages that they would have nothing to do with this apparently innocuous committee suggests that the Little Assembly may not be such an insignificant factor after all. Its immediate tasks may be described as both constitutional and political. On the one hand, the Committee can itself strengthen the constitutional powers of the Assembly and, on the other, its actions and decisions can add to international politics an element that may put an entirely new light upon the situation.

As for the constitutional work of the body. Secretary General Trygve Lie has reminded the delegates that the General Assembly already has many ill-defined and ill-developed powers which might with profit be applied to increase UN's capacity to deal with international situations and disputes. He mentioned in particular the provisions of Articles 11, 13, 14 and 35 of the San Francisco Charter. These deal in general with the Assembly's right

to take up, in one form or another, questions of international security in the political sphere. The Interim Committee already has on its agenda the Argentine proposal for the convocation of a general conference to study the possibility of amending the privilege of the veto. From the work of the Interim Committee not only can existing constitutional powers be legitimately amplified, but the groundwork can be laid for eventual modification of the Charter itself.

The political influence of the Little Assembly may prove more fateful than its purely constitutional work. The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea may find it necessary to consult with the Interim Committee and thus bring a burning issue before this world body for debate. The Greek crisis is even more a case in point. The Soviet Union has no fear of an Assembly which has no troops at its disposal; but it is very much afraid of an Assembly which, while not having troops, can, by its moral power, sanction action taken under Article 51, which affirms the “inherent right of individual or collective self-defense.” We in the United States believe that, considering the failure of the Security Council to do what it was supposed to do, our policy of resisting Soviet imperialism in the Balkans as in Korea is precisely an act of self-defense in the name of the international community. However, we are not imperiously asking the rest of the United Nations to take our word for it. Before the Little Assembly, and through it to the General Assembly, we are prepared to defend our actions. This is the international solution and not the imperialistic one. It will be in the power of the Little Assembly to grant or to withhold the sanction we seek.

Berlin's schools

Religious education in the schools of Berlin hangs by a slender thread these days, protected in fact only by the veto of one or two of the Western Powers in the Allied *Kommandatura*. Recently this quadripartite body which must sanction enactments of the Berlin municipality rejected and sent back to the German authorities a school-reform bill that would have abolished private and parochial schools as well as religious instruction in public schools.

This bill had been supported by the Communists and by the Social Democrats, who, whatever their differences, agree in contending that religion has no place in schools. It was fought strenuously by the Christian Democrats, who in this case were in the minority. His Eminence Conrad Cardinal von Preysing, Bishop of Berlin, has quite naturally been outspoken against this attempt to abolish the last vestiges of religious education that remain in Eastern Germany. There are no Catholic or Evangelical schools, much less religious instruction in public schools, in the Soviet Zone outside of Berlin. In the city itself there are only three Catholic schools for girls and one for boys.

It would have been a bitter disillusionment to American Catholics if, through the absence of a simple “No” on the part of our representative on the *Kommandatura*, this

last surviving hope for religious education had been extinguished in Eastern Germany. If we seem unduly fearful that our Military Government might so betray these traditional American and democratic principles of freedom of religious education, it is, to be candid, because we do not place one-hundred-per-cent confidence in the educational theories of MG policy-makers. It is true that the German educational system, and not alone that of Berlin, needs many reforms. The current effort to eliminate the "two-track system" appears to be sound, at least in its general intent. This traditional German division of schools at the elementary level into academic and vocational has been virtually an education to class distinction. But past experience of MG attitudes toward confessional schools makes us more cautious than trusting where the reform of German education is concerned.

Catholics on this side of the water will be in a better position to prove their interest in our education policies in Germany if they do not limit themselves to asking for vetoes in the *Kommandatura* but take positive steps to assist the recovery of Catholic schools along the lines suggested by Rev. Pius J. Barth, O.F.M., of De Paul University—the sending of a "Friendship Train" of essential school supplies to Germany and Austria.

Mrs. Meyer on Federal aid

In the Correspondence section we print a letter from Mrs. Eugene Meyer commenting on a comment of ours in AMERICA for December 20, "On changing one's mind," in which we concluded—from press reports of her speech to the Texas State Teachers Association on November 28—that she had somehow changed her views on Federal aid to education. We are grateful to Mrs. Meyer for sending us the full text both of her May 29 testimony before the House Subcommittee on Education and Labor and of her Texas address on November 28, which, as she maintains, are in complete agreement on the question of granting Federal and State aid to children attending non-governmental schools.

When she testified before the House Subcommittee last May, Mrs. Meyer was concerned to rebut opposition, from Protestant and other sources, to the Taft Federal aid bill (S. 472) and the McCowen bill (H.R. 2953) because they permit Federal assistance to non-public, tax-exempt schools in States where such assistance has been customary. Her argument ran as follows:

The States have no responsibility to support non-public schools. But in a democracy the State must extend its public-welfare services to all children alike, regardless of race, color or creed. . . . Surely no humane person would maintain that a hungry child should not receive a hot midday meal because it is a Catholic. And nobody should countenance, as has happened, that a school-bus driver should pick up some youngsters and be obliged to leave the parochial-school pupils stranded in deep snow. Likewise, if the local public-health department is examining school children for T.B., it would be monstrous and self-defeating to omit parochial-school children from such a preventive program.

All of which, if we omit the first sentence, is rightly and

reasonably argued. What is wrong with Mrs. Meyer's position is her conclusion that "the whole problem of public assistance to non-public schools is a question for decision within the States. It is, as Senator Taft pointed out, not a Federal problem." The Taft and McCowen bills, which Mrs. Meyer favors, would leave "all States whose constitution now forbids the use of public funds for non-public schools out of the picture."

Mrs. Meyer knows as well as we do how few States permit assistance to non-public schools. She must know, therefore, that the section in the Taft and McCowen bills allowing these few States to continue such assistance is scarcely worth fighting over. She is certainly right in her conviction that the States which now forbid assistance for health and welfare services to children in non-public schools should amend their constitutions so as to grant such assistance. But it is utterly unrealistic to expect that these constitutional amendments will ever be made if the discriminatory statutes of present State constitutions are accepted and approved in a permanent Federal-aid bill. And precisely this is what the Taft and McCowen bills do; and Mrs. Meyer thinks that these bills should be made the law of our democracy.

The whole problem of public assistance to non-public schools is not only a question for decision within the States; it is a question for decision by the Federal Government, which in the past has always rejected the constitutional discrimination of the majority of the States against children attending non-public schools. The logic of Mrs. Meyer's fine concern for all the nation's children should bring her to suggest and to fight for an amendment to the Taft and McCowen bills which would guarantee that Federal funds allotted to any State for health and welfare services be used to assist all children regardless of race, color, creed or school attended. An amendment of this sort would rebuke State discrimination, and hasten its abolition, in the same way as does the provision already in the Taft-McCowan bills guaranteeing that a *pro rata* share of funds to the States be spent on children attending schools for minority races, regardless of present State practices to the contrary.

March of dimes

Since epidemics of infantile paralysis seem to follow a four-to-six-year cycle, we may hope that the present epidemic, which began in 1943, has run its course. The total number of cases for 1947, while less than half of that for 1946, was nevertheless well above the national average. There were about 10,000 cases—a number surpassed only five times in the history of the disease in this country. Polio is a long-lasting and expensive disease. Its virus is extremely difficult to detect, and there is still no way of accurately predicting an epidemic. In the fiscal year ending May 31, 1947 the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis spent \$15,000,000 for medical care alone. Besides this, it must, to be really efficient, spend great sums on educational and preventive programs. Its aid is extended to all sufferers, regardless of race, creed or color. It deserves your support.

Loyalty tests for Federal employes

Charles Keenan

As a native of Belfast, Ireland, Father Keenan knows from experience how easily civil rights may be endangered because a religious or political conviction is called "inimical to the welfare of the state." He analyzes the present loyalty tests in the light of this experience.

In a discussion of the Government's loyalty program, three aspects offer themselves for consideration: 1) the setting of the loyalty program; 2) its procedures; 3) the criteria of loyalty.

I

The setting may be summed up in three words: the cold war. The cold war is an enterprise probably as momentous as—and certainly more complex and difficult than—the waging of the Second World War. The stakes are the same: the freedom of Europe and, eventually, our own freedoms. Our strategy is the Marshall plan—or European Recovery Program—and the Truman Doctrine. We have to hold up the hands of the remaining free peoples of Europe, to give them the economic assistance they need to regain the strength that will enable them successfully to resist the Soviet colossus.

Now it is not to be expected that because the European Recovery Plan and the Truman Doctrine are our Government's answer to Soviet aggression they shall therefore command the assent of every American. They enjoy, in principle, the assent of Congress; and would seem to be favorably accepted by most of the people. But opposition to them does not necessarily imply any disloyalty to the Government or to the United States; it may merely imply that one takes a different view of America's best interests than that adopted by the Administration.

Very different, however, is the opposition offered by the Communist party. A prominent Republican, for instance, will denounce the ERP or the Truman Doctrine because he feels that they are not the way to cope with aggressive Soviet imperialism. The Communist, on the other hand, opposes the Government's measures because he does not want Soviet imperialism successfully opposed. The prominent Republican opposes ERP because he thinks it is bad for America; the Communist opposes it because he has been told it is bad for Russia.

But this is not the worst. Only the most simple-minded can ignore the very real threat to human freedom that Soviet Russia represents. We have seen, in the past couple of years, how in country after country it has used the native Communists as the spearhead of eventual dictatorship. Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, are gone; Czechoslovakia teeters perilously on the brink; Greece is fighting armed communist rebellion. Nor do we need to look across the Atlantic; Canada has shown us the corrupting influence of communism on men's loyalties; and we shall be very naive indeed if we think that the United States, alone of all free countries, is exempted by the Soviets from their espionage system. On the record, Communists must be considered potential traitors to their country; on the record, their aim is the extinction of human freedom.

We do not, of course, expect to see President Truman tried for his life before a People's Court on charges of betraying democracy; that is not the present danger from communism in the United States. But the example of Canada is too close to us—geographically, in time, and in its possibilities—to leave us under any illusions as to the *modus operandi* of the Communist party. The Report of the Royal Commission to investigate the betrayal of atomic energy secrets there (issued June 27, 1946) is enlightening and uncomfortable reading. The section "Development of Ideological Motivation" shows the process by which earnest and hitherto loyal Canadians were induced to become spies for a foreign power.

The "study-group" technique is a masterpiece of psychological conditioning. This makes an appeal to people who are seriously interested in social conditions. "Often enough," says the Commission, "some of the agents seem to have begun their communist associations through a burning desire to reform and improve Canadian society according to their lights." Under expert communist guidance the little group is made painfully aware of the shortcomings of democratic society. At the same time a certain atmosphere of secrecy is maintained—the student is encouraged to believe that frankness about his political and social views outside the cell meetings would be a dangerous indiscretion and a potential menace to the organization. The object is

to accustom the young Canadian adherent gradually to an atmosphere and ethic of conspiracy. The general effect on the young man or woman over a period of time of *secret* meetings, *secret* acquaintances and *secret* objectives, plans and policies, can easily be imagined. The technique seems calculated to develop the psychology of a double life and double standards [*Italics by the Commission*].

From dissatisfaction with his own democratic society, the adherent is led to the acceptance of the "international idea," which, in turn, is linked up with uncritical acceptance of Soviet Russia as the embodiment of that idea. "Thus it happens,"

that through these study-groups some adherents, who begin by feeling that Canadian society is not democratic or not equalitarian enough for their taste, are gradually led to transfer a part or most of their loyalties to another country, apparently without reference to whether that other country is in actual fact more or less democratic or equalitarian than Canada.

It is too late in the day now to contend that the Communists of the United States are in any way different from their comrades in Canada.

While it is evident enough that Communists and their dupes should have no place in our government services, it is not quite so clear how we can get them out or keep them out. There is nothing illegal in being a Communist.

Congress, though quite willing to investigate communism in Hollywood and elsewhere, has never banned the party by law and has made no bones about seating Communists in its own membership. The Supreme Court has been no more helpful. In *Schneiderman v. U. S.* it ruled that the communist program did not necessarily intend the violent overthrow of our Government, but could mean that Communists advocated peaceful democratic means to gain power.

II

It is true, indeed, that since 1941 Congress has inserted a clause in various appropriation bills forbidding the employment, under these appropriations, of Communists or Nazis; and that in 1940 the U. S. Civil Service stated that as a matter of policy it would not employ members of the Communist party or the German Bund and such organizations. Thus a good deal of government service is closed to overt Communists. But, as the Canadian experience has shown, men and women who are not Communists, but are used by them, can be employed by the Government, while actually or potentially disloyal to it. These are much harder to detect.

It should also be noted that since 1941 the Departments of War, Navy and State have been given wide authority by Congress to dismiss any employe summarily, in the interests of national security, without regard to the laws and regulations governing the removal of employes.

The postwar international crisis sharpened the Government's realization of the need to assure itself of the loyalty of its employes; and so the present program was evolved. Its workings are, briefly, as follows.

Each employe furnishes his or her fingerprints and an informational, factual personal statement to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This is checked against the FBI files. In the overwhelming majority of cases, says Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, that is all. The FBI reports to the head of the employe's department that there is no reason for suspicion, and there the matter ends.

If the FBI is not satisfied, it makes a report to the department head. This is not an indictment, and must bring out equally what is in the employe's favor and what is not. It will be considered by a departmental loyalty board. If the board's report is unfavorable, the employe may appeal to the head of the department, who is bound to reconsider the evidence. From him appeal lies to a panel of the Loyalty Review Board. If it thinks fit, the Loyalty Review Board may make a review of the findings of its own panel. At every step the greatest precaution is to be taken to keep the investigation secret, so as to safeguard the good name of the person affected. In each hearing the employe is to be furnished with a list of the charges against him, and has the right to appear and to be assisted by counsel. Such is the procedure outlined by Mr. Richardson in his statement of December 27.

However, as the same statement makes clear, there are serious qualifications. The gravest of these is that the suspect will not, in many cases, be able to confront and cross-examine the witnesses upon whose testimony the

suspicion of disloyalty is based. This departure from our ordinary "due process of law" was viewed so seriously by the Loyalty Review Board that it gave "most careful consideration" to representations by "responsible persons that, rather than permit such a situation to exist, the entire loyalty program should be abandoned." The Board realized that there was no way in which it could

have the benefit of the skilled investigation of any competent investigative agency, and particularly of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, unless the facts received in confidence by the investigators can be kept entirely confidential at all times and under all conditions.

The FBI's attitude is, of course, perfectly understandable and justified; the question was whether the Board should conduct the loyalty program under the conditions imposed by the nature of the FBI's work. The Board's conclusion was that "the objection to non-confrontation and



no cross-examination, while serious, is not essentially controlling." Its reasons were: 1) that the Government's rights are at least equal to those of a private employer, and that it may legally discharge any employe for reasons which seem good to it; 2) that "any suspicion of disloyalty whatsoever, however remote,

might, in view of the dangerous possibilities involved, suffice to justify employe dismissal without hearing."

Mr. Richardson's statement of the methods and procedures to be adopted at all stages of the inquiry is much less uncompromising than the conclusions so baldly stated above. He stresses the point that in estimating the value of the evidence presented, weight is to be given to the disadvantage under which the employe labors in not being able to confront and cross-examine witnesses.

One point, however, is very important to stress here, as it was stressed by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. in the *New York Times Magazine*, November 2, 1947. It is this. Whatever be the FBI's reservations about confronting suspects with its witnesses, *that restriction must not apply to the Loyalty Review Board. The Board must be fully empowered to assess, for itself, and not merely on the word of the FBI, the value of all evidence presented.* This is not said by way of reflection on the FBI, but flows from the very nature of the Board as the final court of review. Otherwise there will be no real appeal, and the judge of last resort will be the FBI.

This may of course, lead at times to an impasse. To take an imaginary instance, suppose the FBI charges that a suspect, in a secret meeting of Organization X, made certain statements which clearly indicate disloyalty to the United States. The FBI's source is Agent Y, who has penetrated Organization X unsuspected. To bring Y before the suspect would effectively destroy his usefulness; and it may be that Agent Y is on the track of something really big in the way of espionage. To expose Agent Y might well mean the wrecking of a whole chain of

counter-espionage. The FBI would perhaps be unwilling to reveal the activities of Agent Y, even to the Loyalty Review Board. In that case, the FBI will have to choose between its chain and the conviction.

III

If the loyalty program is not to degenerate into hysteria and witch-hunting, it is essential to have a very clear mind on what constitutes disloyalty. It will not do to run after such will-o'-the-wisps as opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act, to General Franco, to the European Recovery Program, to Universal Military Training, to the Baruch plan for international control of atomic energy, or attachment to Mr. Wallace. These are all communist positions; yet this Review has consistently criticized the communists, the Taft-Hartley Act and UMT; the Hearst press is less than cordial to ERP and international control of atomic energy; Hamilton Fish, former Republican Representative from New York and a stout anti-Communist, is one of the latest to congratulate Mr. Wallace on his candidacy for President. That way lies confusion worse confounded. The acid test of disloyalty to the United States is loyalty to a foreign Power. The Communists are not disloyal because they favor this or oppose that, but because they take dictation from Moscow; because they are acting as the tools of the Soviet Government in the United States. That is the thing to look for in the loyalty tests—a consistent following of the party line, not merely the holding of this or that opinion which Communists happen to hold.

In the concrete it is not likely that any serious injustice will be done. The FBI has deservedly won the confidence of the American people; it is hard to see Edgar Hoover in the role of director of a Gestapo or MVD. Mr. Richardson's directives on aims and procedures show a really sensitive care for the rights of those whose loyalty is under investigation. Nevertheless, it will not do for the American people to take the loyalty program casually. It is all too easy, in meeting the threat of a secretive organization like the Communists, to pull down the roof on our own heads. The loyalty program is a new departure in American life. It is accepted, by those who do accept it, as a disagreeable necessity imposed on us by the brute realities of the world we live in. The cold war, no less than the armed conflict, carries an inherent threat to the civil liberties of us all; that is the nature of war. The Government is, in effect, exercising something equivalent to the power we concede to the military in the field—and in a real sense the Government is in the field. It would be well for us to ponder what Mr. Justice Jackson, dissenting in the case of the interned Japanese-Americans (Dec. 18, 1944), said of that power:

The chief restraint upon those who command the physical forces of the country, in the future as in the past, must be their responsibility to the political judgment of their contemporaries and to the moral judgments of history.

The loyalty program will test not only the loyalty of our Government's employees, but our own wisdom and our devotion to the American tradition of equal justice to all who dwell in this Republic.

Self-seeking betrays the peace

Benjamin L. Masse

All during the dying days of the old year and the first week of the new year, reports from Paris described the desperate struggle of the Schuman Government to win Assembly support for its drastic anti-inflation program.

The outlines of the problem facing the French people were clear enough. Too much money was chasing too few goods and sending prices to cruel and dangerous levels. The lack of confidence in the franc, which resulted from spiraling prices, especially among farmers and investors, was impeding economic recovery. On top of this, to relieve the bitter distress of the urban masses, which the Communists had exploited early in December, M. Schuman was constrained to raise wages; and this increase in purchasing power had to be nullified quickly to forestall a further advance in prices. It was obvious that this could be done only by taking money away, in taxes and forced loans, from those who had it, that is, from the well-to-do, business corporations and the war-prosperous peasantry.

Admittedly the cure proposed is drastic, but these are precarious times for France. Only a few weeks ago the Republic tottered on the edge of a revolutionary abyss, under severe attack by a Soviet fifth column. If there was ever a time when the well-to-do and the land-loving peasants, out of regard for their own long-range interests, ought to have been prepared to make sacrifices to save their way of life, this was the day and the hour. But they would have none of it. Their spokesmen in the Assembly pleaded and cried, they forced concessions on this point and that, they did their best to dilute the medicine which was plainly indicated and which alone could save France.

Such was the news from Paris as the dismal old year died and the new one was reluctantly born. It is noted here not because the French are worse than other peoples, but precisely because they are no better. What has been happening in France is fairly typical of what is happening in other democracies of the West, with special emphasis on the United States. It is, in truth, difficult to realize that our civilization is under attack today by a ruthless and resourceful enemy, that we are in the midst of a cold war, that the next three or four years may decide whether the United States will continue to exist as we know it or, indeed, will continue to exist at all. There are, alas, so few indications that people are disposed to make those sacrifices, including the subordination of their private advantage to the public good, which national emergencies require.

If you want the evidence on which this discouraging, and frightening, observation rests, you do not have to seek beyond your daily newspaper. Here, for instance, are some gleanings from the Sunday papers of January 4.

A Congressional investigating committee has asked eight major steel producers to testify on "black market" operations in steel involving about one billion dollars a year. Said Representative W. Kingsland Macy, Republican of New York:

Black marketing has reached unconscionable proportions. Certain persons are taking advantage of abnormal market conditions resulting from the war to enrich themselves unjustly.

Their activities tend to keep many essential items in short supply, thus adding to the burden of inflationary prices.

Mr. Macy announced that on completion of this investigation the committee would delve into black markets in allied fields, including housing and automobiles.

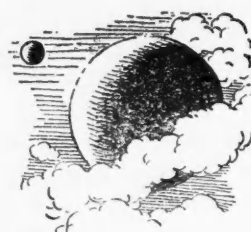
Addressing members of a New York business organization, Senator Francis J. Myers, Democrat of Pennsylvania, charged that prices had spiraled "out of the selfishness and greed of each and every American who attempted to profit at the expense of his fellows—to get whatever the traffic would bear." He warned that high prices were leading to a "swift and heartbreaking" isolationism, that already he was receiving letters advising him to vote against the Marshall plan which, these constituents believed, was the cause of high prices. Such letters no doubt reflected Senator Taft's niggardly argument, which is not true, that if the American people want the Marshall plan, they have to take higher prices, too.

As everybody in the country knows by now, there was a snowstorm in New York during Christmas week. For a few days the situation was somewhat uncomfortable, especially for tenants in apartment buildings which had exhausted their oil supplies. What many people living outside New York may not know, however, is that some oil dealers exploited the need of the sufferers by raising their prices. To obtain 5,000 barrels for a power plant on which the subways depend, the Board of Transportation had to pay \$6.20 a barrel, although posted prices for a barrel of oil ranged at the time from \$3 to \$3.90. Incensed by this "racketeering," Mayor O'Dwyer has now ordered an investigation, promising to prosecute those found guilty. While the Mayor is at it, he might have a look at prices being charged for tire chains, the use of which has been recommended to motorists. For some reason or other—probably higher labor costs!—the price has suddenly been hiked about fifty per cent.

In a different vein, the Sunday papers, under a Buenos Aires dateline, announced the opening of a convention in Lima, Peru, on January 10 to establish a new inter-American labor federation. Prime agent behind this move is the American Federation of Labor, which has been working steadily for the past three or four years to undermine the Latin-American Labor Confederation (CTAL). This is the organization led by the pro-Communist Vicente Lombardo Toledano, with which the CIO maintains friendly relations and shares membership in the World Federation of Trade Unions. The reporter who filed the story explained that this projection into Latin America of the split in U.S. labor had given the Perón-dominated labor federation of Argentina a fine opportunity to hold us up to ridicule.

From Berlin came another story no less dismal in its implications. The AFL representative in Europe, Irving Brown, announced that the first of a series of conferences for non-communist labor unions in countries participating in the Marshall plan would be held this spring, probably in Brussels. Purpose of the conferences would be to promote the success of the European Recovery Program and to frustrate efforts of communist-dominated unions to sabotage it. From these meetings, Mr. Brown predicted, would rise a new international labor organization which would supplant the WFTU.

And so the AFL-CIO rivalry, which had already been exported to Europe, will be intensified during the difficult months to come. There are sound reasons for believing that the European Recovery Program cannot succeed without the help of the bulk of organized workers



in Western Europe, and that this cooperation can be elicited only by the fraternal offices of our own organized workers. But our workers are divided; they cannot concert their activities abroad because they are split at home. And they are

split at home because some of their most influential leaders have been unable to subordinate personal ambition and vested interests to the general welfare of labor. Certainly Toledano should be eliminated, and the WFTU may already be as dead as Big Three unity. The point is that failure of the AFL and the CIO to patch up their quarrel at home gives these operations abroad a divisive character that may mean mischief for the Marshall plan.

These gleanings from a single day's gathering of the news could be added to, but it will serve no useful purpose to pile example on example. The point is clear enough: our people are not prepared to promote the general welfare if this involves personal or group sacrifice. That is the weakness of the world's democracies in this hour of their greatest trial, a weakness which we are forbidden, by our way of life, to remedy by totalitarian measures of coercion and regimentation, of secret police and concentration camps. Our only recourse is appeal to the intelligence and moral sense of our people.

That is what His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, did in his Christmas encyclical this year. Our profiteering businessmen, our short-sighted labor leaders, our power-hungry politicians ought to meditate, in the sight of God, on the following pertinent paragraph:

At the same time it is incumbent upon all to understand that the social crisis is so great at the present time and so dangerous for the future as to make it necessary for each—and especially him who has greater goods—to put the common welfare before private advantages and profits [Italics added].

While His Holiness had primarily in mind the peoples of Western Europe, who are under assault by Soviet fifth columns, and more especially the rich men among these peoples, he was enunciating a moral principle of universal validity. The amorism of most modern governments and the philosophy of laissez-faire capitalism have ob-

secured the obligation, binding on every citizen in conscience, to make his proper contribution to the general welfare. This obligation is imposed by the moral virtue, indifferently named legal justice and social justice, whose essence, as Pope Pius XI taught in the encyclical *On Atheistic Communism*, is "to demand from each individual all that is necessary for the common good." The indifference to this noble virtue, even when danger to the general welfare is serious and proximate—as it is almost everywhere in the world today—has reached such a degree that it poses a serious challenge to the Christian pulpit. Unless the Church can arouse the consciences of our people, and especially the consciences of political leaders and the leaders of the powerful economic groupings in our society, there are grave reasons to fear for the future of our country and of our civilization.

No one is doctoring the news from abroad, from France, from Italy, from Greece and China. No one is creating a crisis for the purpose of remaining in power or for the sadistic pleasure of imposing hardships on the American people. If anything, the responsible leaders of this country are not sufficiently emphasizing the dangerous nature of our times. They seem almost afraid to interfere with the torrid argument over the respective merits of the Michigan and Notre Dame football teams, or to interrupt our preoccupation with the inanities of comic strips. They are treating us somewhat like children who want to live undisturbed in a cozy world of make-believe, because that is the way we insist on being treated.

What this country needs, what all the countries menaced by the imperialistic push of Soviet Russia need, is a clear, stern voice calling people to their senses, reminding them that life is a battle, not a game, that the price of freedom is sacrifice and discipline, that our individual concerns, no matter how important, must be resolutely subordinated to the common good. In a democracy, that voice must necessarily be the voice of religion, for, ultimately, only in the name of God can the wills of free men be bound by obligation. The present hour is at once the opportunity of the Church and its testing. If churchmen fail to point out the moral issues involved in the pressing problems of the hour, if they permit people to drift comfortably with the secularistic current of our times, the nation's leaders will appeal in vain for the self-discipline and spirit of sacrifice which alone can save democracy in the modern world.

In a penetrating address to the last convention of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Cardinal Stritch emphasized a point which is too often overlooked in ecclesiastical circles. Calling upon churchmen to apply moral principles to specific social and economic problems, he warned that "religion can aid and abet secularism by refusing to interpret Christian ideals and the moral law in terms of the daily experience of men." The failure to preach social justice, to explain the nature of this great virtue and to demonstrate its pertinency to the issues of our day illustrates perfectly the argument of His Eminence. It explains why Christian politicians can unblushingly appeal to the selfishness that is in all of us, why Christian businessmen can justify their greed by

recourse to the law of supply and demand, why Christian labor leaders can subordinate the welfare of workers and of the country to personal rivalries, to jealousies and petty ambitions. It explains, finally, why we the people are losing the peace because we refuse to pay the price, at home and abroad, which peace demands.

To the threat of Soviet totalitarianism there is no simple answer; but without social justice, as understood by Christian tradition, there is no answer at all.

Catholics and the catacombs

John LaFarge

Not long ago a learned and pious friend of mine remarked: "If things in the world get any worse than they are, I wonder if Christianity will not have to return to the catacombs." Since my acquaintance with the catacombs is confined to a couple of short visits made to them one Easter in my youth, I was more interested to know what the Pope would have to say, since he has lived in their close vicinity all his life. Curiosity upon that point was gratified when on December 8 last the Holy Father talked about the catacombs to a few thousand zealous young Roman lay apostles whom he met in solemn audience. He climaxed his exhortation by a reference to these famous underground tombs of the early Christian martyrs and confessors, which are aligned in galleries and chapels to the prodigious aggregate length of 590 miles in the deep subsoil of Rome. But the Pope was not content with praising the early Christians' devotion to the departed heroes of their faith. He was much concerned about the present, and he used the occasion to explode a silly notion that the beginnings of our Christian era were a period of abstention from battle, of withdrawal, of prudent protective defense underground. The catacombs, the Pope made plain, were simply a burial place, not a strategy under persecution. On the contrary, the early Christians, as Tertullian informs us, were people who made their presence felt in every possible situation in the ancient world, in every walk of life.

From the very beginning of his era, the Holy Father has protested against any such idea of calculated retreat. He has denounced it as a deformation of the Christian spirit, as a gross betrayal of a glorious Christian past. "Now," he has been insisting, "is the hour for action, for cooperation and compassion, for effective Christian justice and charity towards all, for massed ranks above ground in every avenue of public life." In his recent Christmas message he exclaimed: "The champions of negation and discord think their hour is near. I say to you: 'Your hour is come.'" And in the same message he asked courage of all men who wished to range themselves on the side of justice and liberty: "The timid and those afraid to come out in the open are very close to becoming deserters and traitors."

Since, therefore, we have no intention of retiring to the catacombs—to which the Church never has “retired” in the past—we may need to take some thought as to what is meant by the alternative, viz., the practice of courage in the face of the present crisis. Just what does “courage” mean; and if we are to strike blows, just what are we expected to hit? Courage, if it is to merit its name, is not a mere screwing up of the will to the sticking point. A man of courage is one who takes thought, and measures the full weight of the emergency which he faces. Fortitude demands consideration and knowledge. As our Saviour Himself reminded us (St. Luke 14:28-30):

For which of you, wishing to build a tower, does not sit down first and calculate the outlays that are necessary, whether he has the means to complete it? Lest, after he has laid the foundation and is not able to finish, all who behold begin to mock him, saying, “This man began to build and was not able to finish!”

It is easy enough to work up at Communion breakfasts a crusading fever against any of the evils of the day, but quite another matter to determine upon a long-range and consistent plan of action; still more difficult, to persevere in a plan which requires study, organization, acceptance of responsibility and personal sacrifice.

In a recently published booklet, *Tapferkeit und Christentum* (“Fortitude and Christianity,” Hamburg, Josef Toth, Hansa Verlag), Father Max Pribilla, S.J., of the staff of *Stimmen der Zeit*, insists that the glittering qualities of fortitude should not permit us to neglect its sober characteristics, if the virtue is to be worthy of its name, so that “resolution will be balanced by reflection.”

Fortitude is not a reckless or obstinate performance but a disposition which is regulated by reason and can render an account to it. . . . Sober consideration and careful preparation, along with daring and tenacity, are the surest pledges of victory. The most certain guarantee for the fulfillment of a deed of fortitude is a quiet and relaxed mind, which keeps the goal clearly in view and progresses towards it with undisturbed perseverance.

Communism is only one element in the present crisis, though it is a tremendously important element, which bewilders us by its novelty, its complexity and the immense variety of angles at which the problems it raises affect our thought and action. However, the question of communism enters into so many phases of our political and social problems today that our personal practice of fortitude in general is closely linked with the specialized question of our fortitude in relation to communism.

Yet such a clarification is something that many of our most well intentioned and apostolic-minded Catholics seem hesitant to undertake. The result is a number of serious gaps in our anti-communist program: weak, defective spots in that leadership which we, as Christians and as Americans, should be giving in the struggle with communism throughout the world.

Indeed, on this issue the public mind is so confused that many a person who has taken the trouble to penetrate the real bearings of the communist problem, to study the matter at close range, finds himself suspected

of partiality towards communist ideas, simply because his estimate is based upon a knowledge of reality and not upon artificial, over-simplified or emotionalized notions which may gratify the very articulate and their applauding audiences, but which do not substantially advance the cause of truth and of Christ.

There are two temptations to which it is easy to yield in any estimate of communism. One is to consider it as merely an economic system—a more advanced and militant type of socialism; the other is to treat it *solely* as a deep and dangerous conspiracy, in which men engage for motives of pure personal ambition or hatred of our American institutions, or simply as agents of an ambitious and imperialistic foreign government.

Certainly, communism is any or all of these things. It is the most elaborate conspiratorial movement the world has ever seen, from the aspects of continuity through the years, vastness of scope, skill in preparation, multiplicity of resources, subtlety of propaganda and command of fanatical devotion. There is no need to labor this point. Yet the ultimate, inner nature of communism is not that of a conspiracy on behalf of the simplified motives frequently alleged, but that of a *movement which makes use of conspiracy* as one of its many means of achievement. Indifference to communism’s conspiratorial side makes one an “innocent,” and a dangerous one at that. But complete absorption in the Dick Tracy aspects of communism is equally dangerous, from another angle, since it ignores the roots of the problem, and lends itself to the development of a well-known morbid psychology.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that some of the qualities which make communism intolerably repulsive to those who live under normal conditions and enjoy the privilege of a balanced, spiritually-founded view of the universe can serve as an attraction for persons under less fortunate circumstances of life or training. As one experienced observer remarks: “The absolute implacability of communism in the pursuit of its aims, stopped by no timidity, no pity, no conformism,” has a powerful appeal to people who are tormented by the half-measures, the contradictory solutions which are offered them for social and political evils (Emile Rideau, *Séduction communiste et réflexion chrétienne*, p. 107).

Americans, with few exceptions, even those strata of our population that suffer from grave social wrongs and injustices, are not apt to be enticed by communism’s seductions. But Americans today are dealing with a world, in all four corners of the globe, where great masses of the population can be thus seduced. Hence, if we take but a narrow and inadequate view of the situation which this movement has produced, if we try to squeeze it into facile categories of mere un-Americanism, in the line of economics or politics, we run the risk of offering an inept leadership where an intelligent one could save the world. In several succeeding papers some of the afore-mentioned “gaps” in our program, and hence in our courage, will be considered more in detail.

(This is the first of a series of articles by AMERICA’S Editor on Catholic attitudes toward communism.)

Inside Czechoslovakia

E. M. Voyta

A year ago (AMERICA, Jan. 18, 1947) E. M. Voyta, former Czechoslovak journalist now living in the U. S., contributed a picture of Czechoslovakia after the war years. The present article sums up the political and religious changes in that country during 1947.

When on July 10, 1947 the Czechoslovak Government, in obedience to an order from Stalin, reneged on its decision to attend the Paris conference on the Marshall plan, the Czech people realized that they had lost their independence. Since the elections in May, 1946 the democratic forces in Czechoslovakia had waged a hard and exhausting war against communist designs, and they still hoped that Czechoslovakia would be able to maintain her parliamentary democracy and her cultural and economic ties with the West. The order of Stalin reversing the decision of the Czechoslovak Government was a heavy blow to this hope.

After July 10 it was evident that Russia intended to keep Czechoslovakia uncompromisingly in her sphere, and increased communist pressure was rightly expected. Events then marched swiftly: the communist trade-union leader, Antonin Zapotocky, announced the decision of the unions to proceed with the nationalization of such private industry as remained; the Minister of Information asked for censorship of the press; Minister of Agriculture Duris took steps to enforce his measures aimed at liquidation of the free peasantry; and the communist-sponsored tax-the-wealthy plan, intended to ruin any surviving free enterprise, was accepted in Parliament by the majority votes of Social Democrats and Communists.

In Slovakia the purge of the Democratic Party was initiated by the usual communist tactics of false accusations and terror. Two Catholics, Dr. Jan Kempny and Dr. Milos Bugar, secretaries general of the Democratic Party, were arrested, and several Slovak citizens were thrown into prison on charges of alleged conspiracy.

Catholic and other liberal publications and a few leading Czech intellectuals voiced their protests, but the only reply was intensification of the terror. During a stormy session of the Parliament on October 22, Fedor Hodza, Slovak deputy and secretary general of the Democratic Party, openly denounced communist terror in Slovakia as a threat to the democratic form of the state. The following day the police asked the State Attorney in Prague to issue a warrant for his arrest. Within a few months Czechoslovakia has lost the appearance of freedom, and the atmosphere of terror has become tangible everywhere.

The order of the day from Moscow to the Czech and Slovak Communists, it becomes evident, is to liquidate all opposition by means of false accusations and intimidation, thus to prepare favorable ground for the elections to be held in May. Naturally, Russia desires to achieve communist victory by seemingly legal means, so that Czechoslovakia may be exhibit number one in pro-Soviet propaganda throughout the world as a country which chose a communist regime in free, unhampered elections.

As things now stand, Russia does not need to use direct force in Czechoslovakia. The Czech and Slovak Com-

munist themselves are well prepared for the final seizure of power. Already they hold all key positions: Prime Minister Klement Gottwald is a Communist; the Ministers of Interior, Finance, Information, Agriculture, Internal Trade and Social Welfare are all Communists. The trade unions are centralized in the powerful URO, headed by the Communist, A. Zapotocky; the radio is communist-controlled. The press is still relatively free, except for the ban on all criticism of Soviet methods and policies; but the communist press gets more facilities and great financial help. The Minister of Interior has transformed all branches of the national police into service organizations of his party; communist partisans get arms and are being trained for eventual civil war. The army, led by the communist general, Ludvik Svoboda, is equipped on the Soviet pattern, and has been purged of all non-communist elements. The Party holds all the trumps for a *coup d'état*.

The plan to gain communist control of Parliament is well conceived. The Slovak Democratic Party, representing 62 per cent of the Slovak vote, holds 43 of the 300 seats in Parliament (the Communists have 114) and is in a key position to block communist control. If the Communists can weaken or destroy the Slovak Democratic bloc and achieve a merger with the still independent Social Democrats (holding 39 seats), the desired majority would be assured.

So, hand in hand with the persecution of the Slovak Democrats, strong pressure is brought to bear inside the Social Democratic Party, which, in the last election, under the leadership of the pro-communist Zdenek Fierlinger, dropped to lowest place among the parties, but still held the balance of power between the democratic and communist blocs. In September a merger of Social Democrats and Communists was announced, and was hailed by the communist press as a great victory; but at the annual congress of the Social Democratic Party in November, Zdenek Fierlinger was repudiated and replaced by Bohumil Lausman, the Minister of Industry. If the strong opposition to communism inside the Social Democratic Party continues, a communist majority in the Parliament will be prevented.

At present both of the non-Marxist parties of Bohemia and Moravia—the Catholic People's Party and Dr. Benes' National Socialist Party—are centers of militant opposition to communist efforts. The younger heads of the People's Party—Dr. Bohdan Chudoba, Dr. Ivo Duchacek and Paul Tigrid—are leaders in the struggle for freedom in Czechoslovakia. Also the left-wing liberals—Ferdinand Peroutka, editor of the independent weekly *Dnesek*, and Dr. Peter Zenkl, former mayor of Prague and now the head of the National Socialist Party—are opposing communism as fearlessly as the Catholics. Both of these men spent several years in the concentration

camp at Dachau for their protests against nazism. A few weeks ago an attack was made on Dr. Zenkl during his visit to a family of friends in Prague. A shot fired from the window of a house opposite missed him by only a few inches. The attacker, known as a Communist, was released after a brief investigation; the police accepted his explanation that the shot was only an accident. Although the people of Prague speak freely of this incident, notice of it in the press was forbidden.

It takes moral and physical courage to be anti-communist in Czechoslovakia today; yet both the Czechs and Slovaks are still fighting for freedom. They still avidly read foreign books and newspapers; they still are eager to keep in touch with the West.

Contrary to all predictions and expectations, the majority of Czech and Slovak youth—especially the college students—are Western-minded and anti-communist. In all the elections at the academic clubs and organizations at the Universities of Prague, Brno and Bratislava, Communists were badly defeated. This fact is little known because both International Youth Congresses—held in Prague in 1946 and 1947—were organized by Communists, owing to the abstention of the representatives of the People's Party and the National Socialist Party, and thus the false impression was created that Czech and Slovak youth were predominantly communist.

Because of his record, the prestige of President Dr. Edward Benes is still great in Bohemia and Moravia; people still look to him as the defender of democracy against the Communists. But Dr. Benes is ill and tired, and his public utterances lack vigor and decisiveness. Is he saving his rapidly declining strength for some future vital struggle? This is the opinion of his friends.

In the first volume of his memoirs, recently issued in Prague, Dr. Benes reveals that the Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile learned only at the time of the uprising in Slovakia in 1944 that the Big Three at Teheran had decided to include Czechoslovakia in the group of Eastern European countries to be placed in the Soviet zone—that he had not known about the decision before. This categorical statement places him and the whole case of Czechoslovakia in a new light.

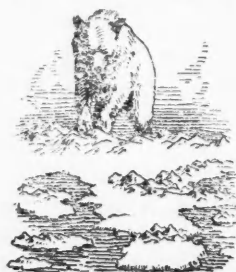
As the situation shapes up today, the most decisive and successful resistance to communist efforts in Czechoslovakia is found in the spiritual opposition in the minds of the Catholic population. Externally the Communists may weaken Catholic organizations and imprison individual Catholics, but the inner ideological resistance remains and grows stronger under oppression. A Western-oriented nation with a thousand-year-old Catholic tradition is no fertile soil for dialectic materialism.

In Slovakia Catholic schools are abolished, church property confiscated, many priests imprisoned, Catholic teachers persecuted, Catholic politicians intimidated—but religious fervor grows in strength and intensity. In Bohemia and Moravia the Catholic situation is better. The heroic resistance of Czech and Moravian priests to nazism during the German occupation increased the prestige of the Church. During the occupation 500 priests from Bohemia and Moravia—among them the Arch-

bishop of Prague, Dr. Josef Beran—spent five years in Dachau. The courage of these priests, their unflinching faith and Christian charity, made a deep impression on their socialist and communist fellow-prisoners. Often when the Archbishop of Prague goes visiting in his diocese, some miner or worker with a red Soviet star on his breast comes forward to embrace him as his "old pal from Dachau."

After the liberation, therefore, the Communists dared not attack the Church as suddenly and brutally as in Slovakia. Thanks to this fact, to the strength of the Catholic party and the restraining influence of Dr. Benes, Catholic schools in Bohemia and Moravia are not abolished, Catholic Action is unrestricted. Catholic youth organizations are flourishing as never before.

As an example of this upsurge of faith, the 950th anniversary of St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague and martyr, was observed with great splendor as a nationwide manifestation of Catholic faith and Catholic tradition. For 120 days the skull of St. Adalbert, a precious relic of the Cathedral of Prague, was taken on processional tour through thirty cities of the country, with the assistance of Czech and Slovak bishops and also of church dignitaries from Poland, the scene of St. Adalbert's death. In each city special devotions and celebrations were held in churches and open spaces, and pledges of



fidelity to the Catholic faith were read aloud by thousands of people. Wherever the procession with the relic approached, people knelt at the sides of the roads and on streets, singing and praying with a religious fervor and enthusiasm not witnessed in Czech lands for many years.

It was a heartening spectacle to see the crowds proclaiming their allegiance to Rome and their love for a saint who so definitely represented Western Catholicism, at a time when the Communists were trying hard to pull the iron curtain down over Czechoslovakia. In the tense political atmosphere the Czech Catholics' loud pledges of fidelity to the Church had all the solemnity of a ritual before a decisive battle.

Already there are signs that such a battle is under way: the communist press has resumed its attacks on Catholic schools, and the recently adopted land-reform law applies also to land holdings of the Church—a heavy blow to the administration of Catholic institutions.

Visitors from Czechoslovakia report that political tension is growing every day: the opposition to communism has stiffened, and successful negotiations are under way between all non-communist parties to prevent communist control of the Parliament. The democratic forces of Czechoslovakia are determined to hold on and meet the communist challenge. It is not yet clear—at the time of writing this article—whether the Communists will accept parliamentary compromise or whether they will precipitate a final showdown and seize power by force. The answer depends on Moscow.

Literature & Art

Foreign critic on our films

Paul Doncoeur

(Some months ago, Rev. Paul Doncoeur, S.J., was invited from Paris to advise on the making of the soon-to-be-released film on Joan of Arc. His work in Hollywood finished, he has returned to France, but not before he left with us his impressions of our films. The occasion of the following is the phenomenal success of *Gone with the Wind* in its return engagements.—LIT. ED.)

It is useless for me to point out all the good qualities that can be found in the film *Gone with the Wind*. I am technically incompetent to discern all its merits; moreover, I do not know America well enough to judge the historic importance of this film. Finally, I have not read Margaret Mitchell's novel. Therefore, the following observations are not final and do not in any way pretend to be a technically competent criticism. They are the impressions of a foreigner, foreign to the work, to America, and so on.

I ask myself this question: "Why is *Gone with the Wind* not great art when it is a great film?" I would say that perhaps it is because movies cannot be—nor do they pretend to be—great art. But I think that movies can be greater art than they are; and this is what I mean.

Ordinarily movies depend on money. First, in the sense that you need a large sum of money to finance them (that is quite evident); and, secondly, in the sense that they have to please the public in order to make money (that is also evident). Perhaps this dependence is inevitable because the cinema is a very expensive art. But let us suppose that movies could be sufficiently freed from finance in order fully to realize themselves, then to what exigencies must they be submitted?

Since movies have too easy and too numerous outlets for expression, it seems to me that they have let themselves be carried away without disciplining themselves. The idea of discipline that is necessary in every work of art is not found in the movies. In space and time, films may run for miles and hours; nothing is limited—but money. Hence comes the temptation to present an indefinite number of scenarios overcharged with an infinity of scenes, which are pretty, picturesque, surprising, and which amaze the public and excite the virtuoso technician to keep on adding more.

It is rarely that movies resist this temptation. *Carnegie Hall* lasts for over two hours and presents twelve artists and two stars and, besides, a whole plot which is hor-

rible. Why not have thirty or forty artists and stars? It becomes a parade of models to be shown to the public for its money—but even the public is cheated in the long run, for though such a motion picture may immediately please, it does not fully satisfy inner cravings as true art would do.

Gone with the Wind is gigantic, running over three hours; it also accumulates the most fantastic scenes and complicated situations—it is chaos. Foreigners think that this lack of proportion is a weakness of the cinema and particularly of the American movie, which mirrors a country where the immensity of things overwhelms man in a world where he does not hold dominion. In consequence, in a search for the beautiful and the dynamic, quantity is sought instead of quality. But drama is no more dramatic if it has a hundred tragic events ending in a hundred murders than if it has one well-chosen plot expressing all the depth of meaning of the tragedy, such as the great classic masters have given us.

Gone with the Wind is a world where catastrophes, corpses, fires are accumulated—but all remains on the surface of the heart without penetrating its depth. The fantastic theatrical devices may bewilder and astound the public, but they distract from true beauties and from tragic elements. The masses of corpses, of wounded, of ruins, of explosions, etc., do not seem to affect us any more. There is always an excess of too-beautiful lights, of make-up, of too-sumptuous theatrical presentations, of too-rich costumes. All that is of secondary quality, because it does not penetrate into the spiritual tragedy.

Technicolor is dangerous, because it inclines to make things appear too dazzling. It uses strong color contrasts and often portrays scenes with as much bad taste and infidelity to life as color pictures in magazines and on postcards. If technicolor does not free itself from this vulgarity it will never become an art. It should maintain a very delicate reserve, even severity, and thus be true and natural.

Deception seems, therefore, the result of this too-material and too-easy art of cinema. The public is dazzled, shaken, preached at on all sides—but the public is not deeply touched. It sees but the feverish life of Hollywood, wherein one does not find man as he really is. I believe that many men, Americans especially, die without ever finding themselves, because they have not the courage to resist the temptation of motion and of business; because they haven't the liberty to overcome events; because they haven't time to dig in silence into themselves.

I admire America very much for its youthful vitality, its audacity and its trust in life. But, because of this intense life, America needs all the more a spiritual life and suffering and poverty—and especially saints. It needs them a thousand times more than old Europe.

London letter

A New Publishing Enterprise. During the past year a new publishing enterprise—indeed, many new publishing enterprises, but only one which is of interest to readers of my column—made its debut, namely *The Changing World Publications* (23, Lower Belgrave Street, London, S.W.1). These include the quarterly review, *The Changing World*, which I spoke of in anticipation some time ago and whose first issue has since appeared. This review deals with contemporary questions, both literary and sociological, in a tone which is rather unusually meta-physical.

In his editorial, Mr. Bernard Wall points out that "quarterly reviews now operate very much on the periphery of society . . . their ideological and propaganda appeal or influence is less, quantitatively, than that of a single showing of a film . . ." It is a depressing thought, but not one which should discourage the serious writer into silence—the serious writer who can detach himself from the here-and-now and see, with what St. Paul surely meant by the gift of "prophecy," what is really at stake in the changing of our world.

Mr. David Jones, the distinguished painter and author of *In Parenthesis*, in an essay called "Art and Democracy," points out that what makes man man, on the natural plane, is his faculty of creating art (art in its widest sense of *making*, yet not just making as ants, beavers and spiders *make*, but with the addition of the gratuitous, for beauty's sake, which is the *sine qua non* of art):

Art is the distinguishing dignity of man and it is by art that he becomes dignified, and "democracy" means nothing, or means only something bad, if it misconceives the right of man to exercise his distinctive function as man, i.e. as artist. . . . What shall it profit a community of men if it gain the whole world of political and economic and social rights and equalities and loses the "habit of art"? . . . Great creativity can (like charity in the moral order) cover a multitude of social disadvantages and inequalities. . . . Whatever else can be said for a given society, if creativity is lacking, then that society is debilitating to contemplate. . . .

I have quoted at length from Mr. Jones' article, as it was the best I had read in any review for a long time and gave distinction to the first number of *The Changing World*, which carried also an excellent article on "Technics and Sin," by the French Christian existentialist, M. Gabriel Marcel. There was also a political article entitled "The United States and the Soviet Union," by Dr. Waldemar Gurian of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana; a short story, poetry, book reviews, and an American Letter by Mr. Kenneth Douglas.

So much for the first number of *The Changing World*. The first book proper to be published in the *Changing World Series* was an essay by the Italian painter, Gino Severini, called *The Artist and Society*. Gino Severini is widely recognized as one of the most gifted contemporary painters of Italian origin. Though born in Italy, he has lived for the most part in Paris since 1905 and there, at one time or another, has been closely associated with Modigliani, Dufy, Utrillo, Braque, Juan Gris and Picasso.

He is also a close friend of Jacques Maritain, who has written a book about him. The *Artist and Society* deals with the modern world as it affects the work of the artist. The artist's position is unsatisfactory, says Severini, both in "bourgeois" society, with its dictatorship of money values, and in a "proletarian" society such as Russia, where the artist's freedom is destroyed and his style dictated by the political aims of the rulers. Moreover, Severini holds that the artist must establish a human relationship and a sense of spiritual communion with other human beings, for detachment from "the condition of man" leads to aridity. But it is difficult, I think, for the artist to bridge the gap between himself and the "people," for the people of the modern world are not interested in art, nor in craft, but in machines. Great art has always been appreciated only by the few in all classes, as an art critic speaking on The Third Program of the B.B.C. with reference to Severini's book pointed out. But in other ages popular art—the art for and of the people—was also good. That is no longer the case, the critic pointed out, and added, "Look at our advertisements for beer, or rather don't look at them."

Severini's writing irradiates his Catholic faith, which is rare in books of this kind, written usually by what are called post-Christians.

BARBARA WALL

Requisition for Fire

(To The Heart of Jesus)

To the Most High, Most Sacred and Exalted
Lord of the kingdom of my one desire,
I make entreaty for the gift of Fire.
Being informed that Thy rich Vessel carries
The Spirit in a plenitude of Flame,
I come to sue Thy mercy for the Same.
Forgive Thy creature's boldness, Lord, and see
What cold and darkness hastened me to Thee.
Fire—if it be a Flame that never dies—
Could light my mind and make my spirit wise,
Could warm my heart and in its need prepare
Potions of love that now are chilling there.

Consider, Lord: this Fire could never cease,
Die or diminish by my thieveries,
And all my hands could seize, my heart possess
Would make no mark upon its mightiness,
For Thou couldst squander endlessly and part
With naught of the bright Burning in Thy Heart.
I speak yet further: since Thy bounty willed
To cast Fire down until the earth be filled,
Let me be kindler to It and inflame
The unignited lands through which I came.
Herein I argue: other gifts might show
My fingerprints but Fire would keep Its glow.
It holds Its potency, Its radiant good
Past any carrier's ineptitude.
Even a fool, O Jesus, bit by bit,
Could light the five dark continents with It.

JESSICA POWERS

Books

For solving our dilemma

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM: A History of American Negroes.

By John Hope Franklin. Knopf. 622p. \$5

THE WALLS CAME TUMBLING DOWN

By Mary White Ovington. Harcourt Brace. 299p. \$3

From the Pharaohs of the fourth millennium before Christ to the founding of the United Nations is the scope of Dr. Franklin's broad canvas; and on it he has painted in outline and in detail the history of what he rightly terms "one of the most far-reaching and drastic social revolutions in the annals of history." As we turn the sickening pages that record the brutalities of wartime and postwar transfers of populations in Europe, it is salutary to be reminded of what Africa has suffered—and almost down to our own times. A conservative estimate places the number of slaves forcibly transported to our hemisphere over four centuries at some twenty million. At a time, near the end of the fifteenth century, when the Negro states of West Africa were in a position to develop a modern civilization, the blow fell. For four hundred years the best of Negro strength and intelligence—the slavers demanded the best—was drained off in an unrelenting and almost fatal blood-letting. Africa remained the Dark Continent; the world lost a civilization and gained a problem that plagues us North and South and troubles even the debates at Flushing Meadows.

In his detailed study of slavery in the various American colonies, Dr. Franklin turns up many a little-known piece of information—for instance, that Georgia's original constitution forbade slavery; that a Negro, Benjamin Banneker, assisted Major L'Enfant in laying out the city of Washington and in 1793 made the suggestion (heard again very recently) that besides a Secretary for War the President's cabinet should contain a Secretary for Peace; that the original draft of the Declaration of Independence denounced the King of England for fostering the horrors of the slave trade. But the Southern delegates to the Continental

Congress did not want to be that independent.

While the bulk of *From Slavery to Freedom* deals with the Negro in the United States, Dr. Franklin treats also the Negro in Latin America and Canada. His chapters on Latin America confirm Dr. Frank Tannenbaum's thesis (in *Slave and Citizen*, reviewed in *AMERICA*, Apr. 5, 1947) as to the mitigating influence of the Catholic Church on slavery in the Spanish dominions.

Other interesting features of the book are Dr. Franklin's estimate of the extent of slaveholding in the South—it was largely a rich man's prerogative, but "there was hope on the part of most of the non-slaveholders that they would one day become owners of slaves"; his integration of slavery before the Civil War, the Reconstruction and subsequent enactments against the Negro into the general pattern of the Industrial Revolution in America; his reflections on the harm, social, economic and religious, that slavery wrought on the white population.



Mary White Ovington's canvas is much more modest in extent than Dr. Franklin's. One of the most valuable contributions of *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* is the encouragement it must give to workers for interracial justice by recording the advances made in one lifetime. Those who have read the *St. Louis Post Dispatch's* articles on Archbishop Ritter's recent forthright stand for equality of whites and Negroes in his parish schools will realize how far that newspaper has moved since 1907 or 1908, when its comment on an interracial dinner in New York was: "This miscegenation dinner was loathsome enough to consign the whole fraternity of persons who participated in it to undying infamy."

While Miss Ovington's book is professedly the story of her own life, it is inevitably the story of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which, in 1909, she was one of the organizers. She takes the reader from the early days of the interracial movement in New York, through two world wars, to the present day. Her closing quotation, from W. E. B. Du Bois, reads: "Science affirms

the great religious teaching, the Brotherhood of Man." While admiring Miss Ovington's indomitable perseverance in a difficult and seemingly unprofitable crusade through many difficult and discouraging years, this reviewer would have liked to see an acknowledgment of the part religion has to play, and has played, in helping towards the solution of what is, at its heart, a moral rather than a social or humanitarian problem.

CHARLES KEENAN

Many stitches in time

UNION-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION

By Kurt Braun. Brookings Institution. 259p. \$3

In 1919, the clothing industry accounted for three-fourths of all the time lost through strikes in New York State. In 1946, according to Edward Corsi, Industrial Commissioner of New York, only one per cent of the time lost through strikes was attributable to stoppages in clothing plants.

The amazing contrast in these pictures of two postwar eras is due without doubt to the remarkable growth of unionism in the needle trades during the two decades between the wars and to the new, dynamic relationship between workers and employers which has evolved largely as a result of union pressure. In 1919, the clothing unions were weak, employers were hostile, sweatshops abounded. Today the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers are among the strongest unions in the country; employers are generally cooperative and sweatshops have practically disappeared. From collective bargaining over wages, hours and working conditions, unions and employers have progressed to a form of cooperation that is almost unique in American industry. The nature of this experiment in twentieth-century industrial relations is the subject of this timely book.

Appropriately the author begins his study with a definition of union-management cooperation. Since there exists no hard-and-fast definition of collective bargaining, this is not so easy as it sounds, and he is obliged to be satisfied with the following description:

Union-management cooperation thus is the realization of a disposition on the part of both the employer and the union to work together to achieve any common end; to settle problems affecting their relations through peaceful means rather than industrial warfare.

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—Ecclus. 50; 6, 7.

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More specifically, it may be defined as collaboration of management and unions on subjects extending beyond matters of employer-employee relations.

Most of the vagueness this definition leaves in the mind of the reader is dissipated in the course of the fascinating story which follows; and if at the end of the book the reader is still unable to say exactly what labor-management cooperation is, that is owing to the dynamic nature of the subject.

To understand how collective bargaining evolved in the needle trades into a pattern of cooperation, and to appreciate the magnitude of the accomplishment, it is first necessary to know something of the nature and history of the industry. Mr. Braun provides the essential background in a dozen meaty and interesting pages. This done, he describes the beginnings of collective bargaining and the gradual process by which the unions achieved the status of partnership, equally responsible with the employers for a business which in 1939 employed 441,400 workers and turned out products valued in excess of two billion dollars.

Today the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the ILGWU bargain with their organized employers as do other unions, but in addition they cooperate with them in rationalizing competition, in stabilizing production, in increasing efficiency, in promoting sales and in working out schemes to provide those who give their adult lives to the industry with almost every conceivable form of social security. From this cooperation both workers and employers have profited, and such evidence as exists tends to show that their progress has not been at the expense of consumers.

Can labor-management cooperation in the clothing industry—which appears to be firmly established—serve as an example to workers and employers in other industries?

To the extent that such cooperation consists in a willingness to substitute law and reason for force and struggle, the author rightly holds that it can be imitated by other workers and employers. He doubts, however, whether the scope of labor-management cooperation in the needle trades can provide an exact model for other industries. Once good will has been established, he sees labor-management cooperation developing in various ways, dependent on the nature of the industry, the character of workers and employers, competitive situation, etc.

This is an important book. It focuses attention on the positive side of a prob-

lem which only last year received mostly negative treatment in the Taft-Hartley Act.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

To control political power

PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES: The Unwritten Constitution

By C. Perry Patterson. University of North Carolina Press. 301p. \$3.75

Mr. Patterson, professor of Political Science at the University of Texas, advances a well-worked-out thesis that the President has succeeded in absorbing a dangerous amount of political power at the expense of Congress and the Federal Judiciary.

According to this analysis, the process has gone on through definite stages. The Supreme Court has given its blessing to the wide expansion of congressional powers at the expense of the States, resulting in congressional supremacy. Then, through the adoption of the national nominating convention, the President has become the master of his political party. This mastery he has used to dominate Congress and its increased powers. The Supreme Court, which could set limits to Presidential powers by means of judicial review, has fallen into the hands of the President through his power of appointment. In this way the characteristic features of the American constitutional system, in its written form, namely, federalism, separation of powers, judicial review, and constitutional limitations, have all been broken down by the forward march of the unwritten constitution in the direction of Presidential government.

The building up of this thesis involves a re-study of every phase of American government. The author shows great competence in dealing with the constitutional prerogatives of each branch, in tracing the evolution of parties and national administration, and especially in pointing out the role of the President in our history. Perhaps the most engaging chapter deals with the relations of Presidents with the Federal Judiciary.

Certain weaknesses appear as the story unfolds. First of all, Mr. Patterson exaggerates the extent to which tyranny has always arisen from excessive executive power. He is mistaken in attributing to the British Crown the tyranny to which the colonists took exception. James Wilson's *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parlia-*

ment (1774), Jefferson's *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), Hamilton's *The Farmer Refuted* (1775), not to mention scores of declarations by individuals and American legislative bodies, all held the British Parliament as culpable as the King. For a long time the colonists tried to make out that they had no quarrel with George III but only with Parliament. Patterson (p. 263) finally admits that majorities can be as tyrannical as kings.

Similarly, Patterson never really proves that the Presidency can control Congress and the Judiciary as an ordinary thing. In fact, the President cannot control the present Congress.

But Patterson is right, of course, in saying that our Congress lacks sufficient means of making the President responsible to the representatives of the people. What is his solution?

He would set up, without constitutional amendment, a *congressional cabinet*. Congress would reduce the heads of the Executive Departments to administrative officers and would replace them as policy-makers by itself appointing a Secretary and an Under-Secretary for each Department, one to be a member of the House and the other a member of the Senate. Congress, i.e., the majority party, would choose a Prime Minister from its own membership to head the cabinet in formulating and passing legislation and in supervising its administration by the Executive.

This solution would substitute a cabinet form of centralized control of Congress for the present broken-up control by individual committees. One wonders whether the President would get along as well with the Prime Minister as Patterson supposes. But this innovation might reduce the conflict between the Executive and the Legislature, since Patterson proposes that if a Presidential veto is sustained, the majority-cabinet, having failed to override the veto, would have to give way to a coalition-cabinet (in Congress) presumably more representative of the President's policies. This is at least interesting in that the author, a close student of the British system, dislikes its concentration of power in the Cabinet. Instead of forcing the President to submit to what Congress wants, his plan would try to find support in Congress for what the President wants. The proposal is original, entails less radical constitutional changes than other proposals, and hence deserves careful study.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

HARP OF A THOUSAND STRINGS

By H. L. Davis. Morrow. 438p. \$3

He is by no means an unskilled harpist who can play upon the human spirits of his own creation in the manner of the Pulitzer-Prize-winning author of *Honey in the Horn*. Even if H. L. Davis does not sing of "just men made perfect," he tells a yarn engagingly enough to make one wonder why his harp has been laid away these dozen years, leaving the field of the historical novel open to so much brazen trumpetry.

This is a tale of three continents, of

the France of the Terror, the Tripoli of the Barbary Wars, and the Ozark regions beyond the Mississippi of the 'twenties and 'thirties. The thread of unity is preserved intact by a series of implausible coincidences straight out of Dickens, but taken no more amiss by the reader because of the story's un-failing power to beguile. It is a romance in the best tradition of another era, and one ponders its fate at a time when the pot of fiction might not be boiling so furiously as now. Slow-paced, tense and poetic by turn, the book has for its moral the attrition wrought by time upon human ambition and achieve-

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- 2 OUR LADY OF LIGHT By Chanoine C. Barthes
BRUCE. \$2.75 and Père G. Da Fonseca, S.J.
- 3 THE DRY WOOD By Caryl Chessander
SHEED AND WARD. \$3
- 4 THE STORY OF THERESE NEUMANN
BRUCE. \$2.50 By Albert P. Schimberg
- 5 JESUS, SON OF MARY
MCMULLEN. \$2 By Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen
- 6 BEHOLD THIS HEART By Rev. H. J. Heagney
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SHEED & WARD. \$2.50 By Rev. Alfred Wilson, C.P.
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Books of Lasting Value

C. F. Horan & Co., of Los Angeles, California, selects as its choice of the ten currently available books which have proved over the years to be of most lasting value, the books listed below. The roster of reporting stores gives the ten books that are popular month by month; this individual report spots books of permanent interest.

The asterisk indicates that the book has appeared in the Book-Log's monthly report.

1. A Companion to the Summa*
Walter Farrell, O.P.
Sheed & Ward
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Thomas à Kempis
Bruce
3. St. Therese of Lisieux
T. N. Taylor (translated by)
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4. The New Testament*
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John W. Lynch
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9. Spiritual Life
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Myles Connolly
Macmillan

CLUB SELECTIONS FOR JANUARY

The Catholic Book Club:
The Letters of Pope Celestine VI
Giovanni Papini
Dutton. \$3

Catholic Children's Book Club:
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The Seaweed Hat
Louis Slobodkin
Macmillan. \$2

INTERMEDIATE GROUP:
Mr. Twigg's Mistake
Robert Lawson
Little, Brown. \$2.50

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Armstrong Sperry
Winston. \$2.50

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Alan Langton
M. S. Mill. \$2.50

ment for those who live to see it through.

Commodore Robinette, the Indian Apeyehola and Young Crawford were victims respectively of ambition, love and revenge. On the night that circumstance first threw them together in the dingy Tripolitan warehouse, they were forced to hear out the tale of the seedy Tallien, Scheherazade *pro tem* and sometime Citizen President of the Republic of France. It was not enough. The three had to live through their separately embattled careers, and end as local legend, domestic tinkerer and demented evangelist in the community they jointly founded in the New World, to learn what M. Tallien was trying to tell them.

Mr. Davis is good Thermidor and better backwoods. His prose is occasionally lyrical, with a ring of The Book running through. There is a wry humor of euphemism and understatement everywhere, as in the mention of a North Carolina settler who described his operation of cutting a bee-tree down on his wife as killing two birds with one stone.

GERARD S. SLOYAN

FUNDAMENTALS OF LABOR ECONOMICS

By Friedrich Baerwald, LL.D. McMullen. 435p. \$4

Professor Baerwald has performed a service for both teacher and student of labor economics at the undergraduate level, "upper division." His textbook opens with a description of the institutional frame of reference surrounding the economics of labor. It then handles specific phases of the latter: income forms and theories; employment, unemployment, full employment theory and policy; worker relief, security, compensation; institutional and legal aspects of the industrial relationship. A closing chapter discusses international and European trade unionism.

This book surpasses some existing texts by reason of its compactness and manageability. It requires supplementing from some existing texts in the matter of industrial description, coverage of periodical literature, and quantitative information on the American "union" scene.

Such being the price of any book on fundamentals, *Fundamentals of Labor Economics* can lay claim to several virtues not common in its field. It is honestly elementary, without that overwhelming all-inclusiveness so tempting for the writer and so discouraging for both parties to the teacher-student re-

lationship. Besides, this book has a systematic thoughtfulness which can never be supplanted by a welter of concrete details. An informed teacher can use it very successfully toward achieving a much-desired goal—leading students to think in an organized way about the mass of factual and semi-factual data on wage-price-investment relations in our economy. Thirdly, this text definitely and conclusively notifies the reader about the peculiarity of "labor" as a factor in production—i.e. labor's inseparability from the dignity of a human person—and then moves on to handle as professionally as any similar text the labor market, the demand, supply and price of labor, etc. Last—and most rare—it is a concrete attempt at something especially needed in its specific field: integration of the social disciplines.

As the years go on and revisions take place, the following will deserve the author's skilled attention: union techniques on the supply side of the labor market; greater use of current examples in lightening some theoretical discussions; concentration into one place of all that needs to be said throughout the book on the nature, composition, distribution and characteristics of the labor force; appraisal of the contribution to labor-market analysis from the theory of imperfect and monopolistic competition; greater use of enumeration, headings, italics, etc., in order to guide the student even more successfully to grasp the fundamental idea first.

This volume was written from a background of considerable theoretical knowledge, historical consciousness and European experience. It is a very helpful book.

JAMES J. MCGINLEY

400 YEARS OF A DOCTOR'S LIFE

By George Rosen, M.D. and Beate Caspari-Rosen, M.D. Henry Schuman. New York. 429p. \$5

This is an interesting volume which consists of a number of extracts culled from the many adventures in medical autobiography over the past four centuries. Actually, it could be called a medical autobiographical reader, but it is so skillfully done that one is not aware of the patchiness sometimes apparent in works of this kind.

The aim is to present a composite portrait of a physician—"four hundred years of him"—not alone as scientist but also as schoolboy, medical student,

The story of the conversion of a Jewish doctor to the Catholic Faith.



THE GLORY OF THY PEOPLE

By Father M. Raphael Simon
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Here is the spiritual autobiography of a Jewish psychiatrist, converted to Catholicism, who left a successful practice to become a monk in one of the strictest orders of the Church—the Trappists.

It is the story of an ordinary man's journey up the spiritual mountain of truth. In the background the writer has sketched the experiences of his formative years, attending universities and traveling through Europe. His career as physician and psychiatrist served to lead him in his quest for truth from science through true philosophy and eventually to Divine Revelation. He turned from the way of life offered by psychiatry, communism and mere philosophy to embrace Catholicism.

The story unfolds the author's thesis, that the faith of the prophets and of the Catholic Church are one and the same, and that his conversion is an act of fidelity to the Jewish religion.

Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen has written a splendid preface to this stirring testimony of a man's growth in the Faith.

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suitor, warrior, patient and philosopher. The reader is invited to reverse the traditional role and examine the doctor.

It is noteworthy that Oliver Wendell Holmes found himself interested in philosophical and theological problems in his youth, while Havelock Ellis' earliest memories were concerned with an anatomic interest in women. In both cases early interests portended what was to come later on.

Alice Hamilton's father gave her a problem in exegesis when she was twelve years old, while at the same age Cajal's father was helping him to steal bones at midnight from a "deserted graveyard" in order to pursue their anatomic studies.

Since the fact that medicos make notoriously poor patients is common knowledge, the authors present a diversified group of them. Hertzler opened a carbuncle on his neck with the aid of mirrors. Nothnagel recorded his symptoms as he sat waiting to die of heart disease. Horace Wells left a graphic description of his feelings as he prepared to destroy himself, knowing he was mentally ill.

A poignant story is that of Zinsser who, while returning to this country aboard ship, made a diagnosis of an incurable disease on himself. This was later confirmed by a friend, "one of those precious individuals whom nature had meant to be a physician," and who "showed his fondness for him by his affectional abstinence from any expression of sympathy."

All manner of practitioners are considered here, from Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus, who gloried in his boorishness, to the gentle and kindly Osler, whose watchword was *aequanimitas*.

The authors realize that it is always open season on writers of anthologies, but in this reviewer's opinion they have chosen wisely and well. The book will interest the general reader as well as the physician and medical student. It is rendered more palatable if taken in homeopathic doses. F. J. BRACELAND

MAN'S LAST CHOICE: Political Creeds and Scientific Realities.

By E. M. Friedwald. Viking. 128p. \$2

There cannot be too many books picturing clearly the terrible, almost unimaginable results of an atomic war. Mr. Friedwald's slender but lucid volume is a wholesome contribution to this literature of warning. Very graphically he points out that the advance of

The Word

science, in recent times, has been subject to cumulative acceleration, and has far outstripped the scientific achievement of any previous epoch. As a consequence, the character of war has changed rapidly.

Ever since warfare ceased to be a chivalric contest and became a matter of national survival, employing whole nations in arms, fed by the total economic potential of the combatants, it has progressively defeated its intended purpose. It has ceased to serve as a variable instrument of national policy, and with increased mechanization, very rapid deployment of force and the development of "saturation weapons," has gradually erased the line which formerly separated victor and vanquished. War in modern times, he cogently points out, is just another word for suicide.

He sums up his whole argument in a single example. "In the battle of Waterloo," he declares, "only thirty-six tons of shells were exchanged. The whole of the Boer War absorbed 2,800 tons of explosives — about one night's bomb load in 1944." The development of the atomic bomb has not only raised the pitch of devastation beyond any comparison, but it has made total annihilation a practical and terrifying reality.

His proposals in the face of this crisis are simple. We must recognize that nationalism is an outmoded concept, and build a world organization at the sacrifice of unlimited national sovereignty, in order to ensure peace and hence survival. If Russia resists this trend, as she has, a start should be made without her, meanwhile producing "the most effective atomic weapons in all the territories" under the world organization's control. In the face of such a show of strength, he feels, Russia would reconsider her attitude and ultimately join in the federation of nations he proposes.

Such a proposal might of course have the opposite effect from that envisioned. It might provoke a war. Mr. Friedwald fails to give due attention to this alternative and its implications because he is obsessed with the power of science. He brandishes that word over the heads of his readers like a club. The real crisis, of which the atomic bomb is a symptom, is that social responsibility and social control have not developed in proportion to technological advance. Our incapacity to control our scientific achievements reflects this uneven development. The real political crisis is moral, not technological.

R. RICHARD WOHL

WHILE IT IS A COMPELLING and justly famous sales-phrase for a company dealing in paints, the slogan "save the surface and you save all" is an extremely vicious principle in the spiritual life. It is the fundamental axiom of that Pharisaism, ancient and modern, which accentuates appearance at the expense of genuineness, substituting for rooted holiness a superficial respectability, cutting down Christianity to its own little code. François Mauriac, in *Woman of the Pharisees*, has shown us a lady completely entrenched in her own righteousness, intrusive and critical towards others; and only in the final sentence of the book are we assured: "She understood at last that it is not our deserts that matter but our love." Our holy faith represents not merely the skittering waves of surface activity but more essentially those deeps which are quiet, contemplative, alive with the indwelling God. So Paul constantly insisted, and he repeats the assertion in that section of Romans read as epistle in the Mass for the second Sunday after Epiphany. "Let love," he tells us, "be without pretense"; and, in a series of brief, jolting admonitions, goes on to indicate that deeper, inner Catholicism which, if neglected and unprotected, can rust away within any of us.

Many there are who from habit and a sense of fitness would never miss Mass on Sunday. But their attendance at the Holy Sacrifice is rather that of physical presence than spiritual participation. They have no real appreciation of the incredible drama which unfolds before them, though for years they have dedicated weekly an unintelligent and impatient half-hour to it. The frequent

reception of Holy Communion, involving previous confession and the Eucharistic fast, seems to them too much for Christ to expect. They are not saints, they tell you, but good Catholics none the less—better than many another. They find it not at all irreconcilable with their religion to indulge in sharp business practice; deviousness, lying, misrepresentation are legitimate devices in commerce where greed is the only creed; so they fall into that quiet secularism which holds that the faith, if it overflows from Sunday into the weekdays, out of the Church into the office, means failure. They make a Bible of a bank-book, and solvency a sacrament.

One may suspect that such people seldom read or listen to St. Paul. But even if they did, the exhortation in today's epistle: "Love one another with fraternal charity, anticipating one another with honor," would seem to them downright naive. They would still feel free to reveal even the serious faults of another; they relish a particularly ugly item of gossip as a gourmet rolls a fine old wine on his tongue; the hunting season on human reputations is always open and hampered by no limitations either of time or type of weapon. They are historically aware of Christ's central law of charity, but that knowledge seldom seeps down into the order of present action. Not only individuals feel their contempt, but even whole races who because of birth, background or color are repugnant to these insular little minds.

A far cry indeed from them is the Christian whom Paul reveals by implication in the epistle of this week: "Be not slothful . . . be fervent . . . serving the Lord . . . be patient in tribulation . . . persevering in prayer. Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse. . . . Be of one mind towards one another."

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REV. A. VERHOOSSEL, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

It is difficult if not impossible to read St. Paul and go on deceiving oneself. Read today's epistle, for example, and hold it up as a mirror before your own soul. How deep, how genuine is your Catholicism? Is it merely a limited set of carefully selected external forms and fulfillments, or is it actually the full acceptance of all those interior convictions deriving from dogma and depending on grace which exteriorize themselves in a real Catholic life? Are you saving your surface or are you saving your soul?

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

Films

THE PARADINE CASE. Alfred Hitchcock, a director who likes to demonstrate his technical virtuosity as well as the next man, has taken what is virtually a conversation piece and from it has fashioned a remarkably intelligent and engrossing drama. In this project he has had invaluable assistance from producer David O. Selznick's literate script and from an all-star cast assembled to portray a group of people in one way or another deeply concerned with the fate of a woman charged with murdering her husband. The defense attorney (Gregory Peck) believes his client innocent and finds himself falling in love with her. His wife (Ann Todd) holds Mrs. Paradine in low esteem but thinks an acquittal the most likely means of puncturing her husband's infatuation. The gross and egotistical judge (Charles Laughton) primes his sarcastic wit to prevent courtroom histrionics from interfering with the letter of the law, while his timid, gently bred wife (Ethel Barrymore) suffers acutely at the thought of his presiding for a capital offense. Another lawyer (Charles Coburn) and his inquisitive daughter (Joan Tetzel), mostly through friendship, become a part of these cross-currents and, apart from any social involvements, stands the lonely figure of the dead man's valet (Louis Jourdan), who bitterly denounces the accused but whose veracity is very much to be doubted. The defendant herself, serene and poised, admitting to an unsavory past, conscious of her precarious position yet scornful to debase her defense by casting suspicion elsewhere, is the most interesting and complicated character of all, and is spectacularly well played by a beautiful Italian actress known

simply as Valli. With fluid camera work, shrewd selectivity of incident and feeling for change of pace, Hitchcock has established these tangled motives and conflicts and has kept the interest of the trial itself bubbling on three or four different levels. The outcome is logical and unexpected and will not be revealed here. The cast, aside from Mr. Laughton's unbridled tendency to overact and Miss Barrymore's excusable inability to look the part of an ineffectual woman, is excellent; and the picture's appeal to *adults*, especially those who are only occasional moviegoers, should be great. (*Selznick Releasing Org.*)

I WALK ALONE. The idea of a prohibition racketeer returning from fourteen years in prison to claim his promised half share in his former partner's thriving night club, only to be defeated by the bureaucracy of corporation finance and the complexities of double-entry bookkeeping, has its comic aspects. However, according to the quixotic logic of screen plays, the jail-bird (Burt Lancaster) is a diamond in the rough and his former pal (Kirk Douglas) is a deep-dyed villain addicted to mayhem, murder and double crossing his cafe-singing sweetheart (Lisabeth Scott); and the discussion of holding companies soon gives way to the insistent rattle of bullets. The presumed hero and the disillusioned "canary" escape the general carnage and decide, though admittedly inexperienced in the technique, to go straight; *adults* may decide that they could do better by running, not walking, straight for the nearest exit. (*Paramount*)

THE PRINCE OF THIEVES. This Cinecolor inquiry into the further adventures of Robin Hood, which no doubt profoundly distresses the shade of Alexander Dumas by giving him author's screen credits, has as many hairbreadth escapes as a fifteen-chapter serial and about as little subtlety and regard for elementary historicity. A serial happily comes in short doses at widespread intervals, while it is necessary to absorb this in one session. Jon Hall, Adele Jergens and Patricia Morrison are in the forefront surrounded by numerous "bit" players who wear their medieval costumes with the ease and grace of as many supernumeraries in a third-rate opera company. It will probably do the *kiddies* no particular harm. (*Columbia*)

MOIRA WALSH

Theatre

THE CRADLE WILL ROCK, presented in The Mansfield by Michael Myerberg, is an instance of old age catching up with a play. Marc Blitzstein wrote the play about ten years ago and it ran for 108 performances, which in those days was a rather longish run. The scene is Steeltown, U.S.A., at the time when the labor unions were engaged in a sanguinary struggle to organize Little Steel. When it was first produced, *The Cradle* was a reflection of an existing social condition and throbbed with the pulse and passion of living drama. Now it seems as senile and almost as silly as the professional Southerner who is still fighting the Civil War.

It is not difficult to understand why *The Cradle* has become a dramatic fossil while plays written thirty, or three hundred, years earlier retain the glow of life. Enduring drama is based on permanent human values—character, morals and manners—and in *The Cradle* all three are missing. *The Importance of Being Earnest* is hilarious because the characters are as warm and familiar as the grocer on the corner, the man at the filling-station or gabby Mrs. Wilkens next door. *The Cradle*, aside from acting competence, is as uninteresting as a 1947 calendar, because its emphasis is on a conflict that has changed its form and a point of view that is no longer valid.

Only the acting, directed by Howard Da Silva, saves the story from being implausible. Alfred Drake, starred in the production, is a dynamic labor leader; and Will Geer makes the steel tycoon as repulsive as the author intended. Vivian Vance is convincing as the tycoon's wife; Muriel Smith is effectively bitter as one of the slaves of steel, and David Thomas is an appealing derelict who is both pathetic and wise. All featured members of the cast, and several unmentioned performers in minor roles, are really much better than suggested by the tepid adjectives in the preceding sentences. Some of them are nothing less than brilliant. But their performances resemble impromptu characterizations more than interpretations of character, for the obvious reason that the author wrote no characters to interpret.

Back in 1938, when *The Cradle* was first produced, it didn't need characters. It had a flaming message to de-

liver, an indictment of brutal and antiquated labor practices; and its indictment helped to correct the abuses it indicted. The Weirs and Girdlers in 1938 were entrenched in what they did not know was a last-ditch stand. Today, there is hardly an important employer in the country, except in the South, who wants to go back to the non-union shop; and even in the South anti-union feeling is receding. The venality of the American press had become a canard long before *The Cradle* was first produced, and the assertion that the pulpit is subservient to big money never has been anything but a communist myth. Ten years ago, when the immediate job was to get people off relief and on a payroll, and win recognition for the dignity and rights of labor, we were willing to ignore Mr. Blitzstein's sociological superstitions. *The Cradle* was a good play then, or at least good dramatic propaganda. In revival, it doesn't make sense. If Mr. Blitzstein has a hunting license, the game warden, or coroner, or sheriff, or whoever attends to such matters should cancel his permit. He is obviously a man who cannot be trusted with firearms. He might mistake the postman for a Confederate soldier and shoot him.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Parade

A MODERN BY-PRODUCT OF THE ancient prophecy of Malachias has recently appeared. . . . The television screen is now mirroring the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. . . . Four hundred years before Christ celebrated the first Mass, the Old Testament prophet, Malachias, foretold the institution of the Mass and prophesied that it would eventually girdle the globe every twenty-four hours. . . . The Mass, Malachias revealed, would be offered up "from the rising of the sun, even to the going down [thereof]." . . . There would be, he predicted, "in every place a sacrifice . . . a clean oblation" offered up to "the lord of Hosts." . . . One may safely conclude that Malachias from heaven has followed with absorbing interest the marvelous fulfillment of his prophecy. . . . We can see, in the mind's eye, the centuries unfolding, and Malachias observing intently as the Mass spreads over the entire earth. . . . He saw the first Mass in the city of Rome; the first Masses in the Teutonic

forests and in the wilds of Britain and Ireland. . . . He saw the Mass reaching the New World. . . . He saw the Hosts and the chalices being raised for the first time in Africa and in the far reaches of Asia. . . . He perceived the Mass multiplying to such a degree that he could eventually behold every day tens of thousands of Masses rising from all the continents and all the islands of the world. . . . As Malachias watches the daily fulfillment of his prophecy, we can safely conclude that anything having some connection with the Mass is a matter of interest to him. . . . He must have watched with close attention as radio began broadcasting the Mass. . . . And now that the mirroring of the Holy Sacrifice on the television screen has begun, he is without doubt avidly observing this development. . . . We can imagine Malachias gazing down on the earth. . . . Perhaps a friend is with him, and they converse in somewhat this fashion:

Malachias: I saw the first televising of the Mass. It was quite interesting.

Friend: I can believe that. The way your prophecy is being fulfilled must be most gratifying to you.

Malachias: Indeed so. How could it be otherwise! Look down there where the Atlantic washes the eastern shores of the New World.

Friend: The priests in Quebec and

Boston and New York and Miami and Buenos Aires are just starting their Masses.

Malachias: Now turn your gaze westward. See the priests in Detroit and Chicago and New Orleans.

Friend: I see the Masses moving westward with the sun. Thousands and thousands of Masses are being celebrated.

Malachias: Look. The Masses are beginning in the isles of the Pacific and in Asia.

Friend: Europe is waking. The candles on the altars are beginning to glow.

Malachias: See. Over Europe and Africa, the chalices form a forest of gold.

Friend: From England and Ireland and Scotland the Holy Sacrifice is now ascending.

Malachias: Behold. The Masses are spanning the Atlantic. We are back where we started from. The Holy Sacrifices are beginning again in Quebec and New York and Miami and South America.

Friend: This is indeed a stirring spectacle—the far-flung offering of the clean oblation in every place from the rising of the sun even to the going down thereof.

Malachias: And it will continue thus down to the end of time.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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Correspondence

Reply by Mrs. Meyer

EDITOR: As I take for granted that you would not deliberately distort a text in order to criticize it adversely (*AMERICA*, Dec. 20, 1947, p. 311), I am sure you have not seen the full copy of my speech on "The Public School and Secular Religion" delivered at San Antonio.

If you will read the passages I have marked on pages 14 and 15, you will agree that I have not "changed." I defend more vigorously than ever the rights of parochial-school children to all public services. Also I repeat what I stated in my testimony before the Congressional Committee of the House—that these rights will never be granted in most States unless the Catholic bishops as a group renounce forever all direct public support of the parochial-school system, as this entails encroachment on separation of Church and State.

If I have been severe in my criticism of your "unrealistic" leadership that still demands additional Federal aid to parochial schools, it is because these leaders endanger the welfare of their own children and of millions of other American children whose schooling depends upon the passage of the bill now before Congress for Federal aid to education.

I do not make public utterances of a destructive nature such as your editorial pictures. My previous record of objectivity and justice to all American groups and particularly to the children of minority groups, such as yours, entitles me, I think, to a similar objectivity and justice from any magazine published by responsible people.

I neither ask nor expect that you will correct or retract the misstatements in your editorial. The truth always takes care of itself.

(Mrs.) EUGENE MEYER

Washington, D. C.

(In view of the importance of the point raised by Mrs. Meyer, it is treated editorially on page 428. Ed.)

Reviewer enlightened

EDITOR: When a reviewer declares himself puzzled, an author is perhaps entitled to explain. Your reviewer of my *Sketch of Mediaeval Philosophy* does

not know what to make of the statements that it "is neither a complete history nor the result of special research." By the former statement is meant that it does not profess to contain information about *all* the medieval thinkers of any importance; by the latter is meant that it is not based on the exploration of hitherto unknown territory but on accessible printed sources, whether the works of medieval philosophers or works about them. It is, therefore, intended to be a selective short history, containing a working philosopher's interpretation of the movement of medieval thought and giving, "through a selection of the historical facts, a notion of what medieval philosophy was about." Such a plan has, to my mind, certain advantages, but it must be left to my readers rather than to myself to judge whether its execution is such as to promote them.

D. J. B. HAWKINS

Esher, England

No comment

EDITOR: It takes real courage to write to *AMERICA*, particularly when the correspondent wishes to take issue with one of the magazine's opinions on controversial topics. The writer must put himself at the mercy of the editor, who, if he is so inclined, may append to the letter an italicized note which in three or four crisp sentences will cut the correspondent down to size. The magazine's staff has the first and last word, and the correspondent is left in the middle. The latest instance is Mr. Blanshard's letter in the issue of Dec. 27.

While I hold no brief for Mr. Blanshard's articles in the *Nation* (and ditto for Father Gardiner's commentary on them), I do maintain that his letter should have been printed without comment. Mr. Blanshard may rightfully resent the editor's allegation that "he has been deceived by his own technique," and the blunt remark that his articles in the *Nation* "did not inspire in us any great confidence in his good faith." Strong words for a "note," even though they may be accurate.

Mainly, however, I am pleading for a correspondence section in which readers may frankly express their disagreement with *AMERICA*'s opinions without fear of a rejoinder which

squelches both the point at issue and the correspondent. Otherwise, *AMERICA*'s correspondence will consist of applause for the journal's good work, further comment on topics of interest, and appeals for soap and other things. It will be awfully dull, which certainly can't be said of the rest of *AMERICA*.

(REV.) WILLIAM E. MC MANUS

Washington, D. C.

Force of policy

EDITOR: Father Michael Hannan, S.J., tells of the work of the Jesuit missionaries of the English province in making Catholicism not an imported religion but an integral part of the national life and culture of the peoples of their mission territory in Southern Rhodesia (*AMERICA*, Nov. 29). The real evidence of this is to be found, I suspect, not only in what Father Hannan writes but also in the fact that two of the natives of this Jesuit mission were raised to the priesthood on the feast of Christ the King, in 1947. Bishop Aston Chichester, S.J., the Vicar-Apostolic of Salisbury, in the presence of the Apostolic Delegate to South Africa, conferred the sacrament of Holy Orders on two Africans, the Reverends Simon Tsuro and Isidore Chikoro.

(REV.) RICHARD H. J. HANLEY

Bethpage, N. Y.

For soil conservation

EDITOR: Your magazine and Marcella Mitchell deserve compliments for the fine article on soil conservation. (Issue of Nov. 8, 1947.)

Mismanagement of our soil can be as dangerous to us as the mismanagement of atomic energy. If we become involved in an atomic war, our nation could die swiftly and fearfully. If our present rate of soil depletion continues, our nation will die slowly and painfully but just as surely.

For proof we need only to look at other nations of the world and read history. Much of the trouble in China and India can be traced to soil depletion. The deserts and stony hillsides of Palestine which the Jews are trying to rebuild today are the same land that Moses saw flowing with milk and honey.

GERALD JENNETT

Maxwell, Iowa.

The views expressed under Correspondence are those of the writers, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Editors. AMERICA prefers short letters of 300 words or less, and merely tolerates longer ones.

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